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THE COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF AMOS

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THOUGH AMOS stands at the beginning of literary prophecy, the book that bears his name shows evidence of clear-cut, careful organization:[1] (A) The great Judgment Speech against the nations (chapters 1 and 2); (B) Three addresses beginning with the phrase "Hear ye this word" (3: 1–15; 4: 1–13;[2] 5: 1–6); (C) Three charges beginning with "Woe" (5: 7–17;[3] 5: 18–27;[4] 6: 1–14); (D) Five visions, four beginning with "Thus the Lord showed me" (7: 1, 4, 7; 8: 1), one with "I saw" (9: 1); and (E) An ending of consolation and hope (9: 11–15).

On the other hand, the reader is impressed by several exceptions to this order. The most striking anomaly is the insertion of the historical record of Amos' encounter with the priest Amaziah at Beth-El, which is placed between the third and fourth visions (7: 10–17). All critics are agreed that it is not in its proper place, but there is no unanimity as to its original position.[5]

Duhm and Baumann have assumed that it stood after chapter 6 before the visions, but Sellin has well noted that that would be a highly illogical order, since the visions were the cause of

[1] Cf. E. Sellin, Zwölfprophetenbuch (Leipzig, 1922), p. 152; O. Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das A. T. (Tubingen, 1934), p. 441.

[2] The doxology in 4: 13, like those in 5: 8 f. and 8: 5 f., constitutes a distinct problem.

[3] It is generally recognized that הַהוֹפְכִים should be read as הוֹי הַהוֹפְכִים, הוֹי may have been written as הֵן. Cf. 4: 15.

[4] Vv. 26–27 offer grave difficulties. The clever solutions proposed by H. Schmidt and Sellin do not carry complete conviction.

[5] Cf. W. R. Harper, ICC on Amos and Hosea (New York, 1905), p. 168, E. Baumann, Der Aufbau des Amosreden (Giessen, 1903), p. 14, Budde, Z. Geschichte des Buches Amos in Wellhausenfestschrift (1914), pp. 65 ff., Sellin, op. cit., pp. 156 ff., M. Löhr, Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos (Giessen, 1901, Beihefte, ZATW, No. IV), pp. 26 f., Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 442.

Amos' expulsion, and should therefore precede, not follow, the account. Budde assumed that the historical account originally stood at the beginning of the book and that what we have here is only a fragment, the beginning and end of which have been lost. This view, however, requires a series of unproved assumptions, and is to be accepted only as a last resort, as Sellin has stated. Marti suggested that the account came at the close of the book, that is to say, after 9:7, since he rejects 9:8–15 as unoriginal. Löhr does not state what its original position was, and Eissfeldt claims its source is an independent composition now lost.

Sellin, who accepts the closing section as genuine, places 7:10–17 after 9:10 and claims that 9:10–15 is the end of this historical account. He must then explain why this record (7:10–17; 9:11–15) was divided, one part being placed in chapter 7 and the rest retained in chapter 9. He argues that the first half was placed in chapter 7 after the third vision because of resemblances in phraseology, "With the sword" (7:9, 11) and "In the midst of My people (the house of) Israel" (7:8, 10). The second half was kept at the end to give the book a consolatory close. Unfortunately, this brilliant hypothesis requires a drastic reorganization of the book, for which there is too little evidence.

A somewhat less disturbing problem is the position of the entire section (8:4–14), which begins with "Hear ye," and which we should have therefore expected with chapters 5 and 6, together with other prophecies of the same general structure. Löhr, Sellin and Eissfeldt move the passage to chapter 4 or 5, but admit that the reasons for the transfer to its present place "can only be guessed at."[5a]

In addition, most scholars have assumed that the passages referring to Judah are later insertions, and that all, or at least some, of them should be deleted (2:4 ff.; 3:1b; 5:5c; 8:14c; 9:11 ff.). That this solution is not altogether satisfactory will become clear in the ensuing discussion.

The thesis we wish to submit is that these three major difficulties in the structure of the book flow from the acceptance of

[5a] Löhr, p. 10; Sellin, p. 158; Eissfeldt, p. 442.

two principles that have become virtually axiomatic in the modern st of Amos, and that these problems are eliminated or conside reduced if these assumptions are reëxamined in the ligh an objective study of the material.

It has long been taken for granted:

(A) That Amos, though a Judean, was exclusively concerned with Israel and hence could not be the author, either of the denunciations of Judah now extant in the book, or of the promise of the restoration of David's tabernacle at its close.[6]

(B) That Amos prophesied for a short period and that his public activities ended with his expulsion from Beth-El.[7]

Now even a cursory study of the passages referring to Judah raise grave doubts as to the cogency of the arguments for their elimination. On the contrary, the deletion of these verses or clauses appears to be either unnecessary or actually impossible.

2: 4 f. — Here Judah is denounced for neglecting Jahveh's Torah and going after falsehoods. It is usually explained as the gloss of a later Judean reader who wished to relate Amos' activity to Judah.

This view does not commend itself, for these later glossators generally strike the note of national restoration rather than doom, in line with the dominant characteristic of later prophecy and Jewish thought.[8] Moreover, the existence of *torot* in the

[6] S. O. Seesemann, Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 16 f., Nowack, Die kleinen Propheten (Göttingen, 1897), p. 126. Duhm omits 2: 4 f. and the doxologies; Wellhausen and Cheyne add 9: 8–15. Löhr rejects 2: 4 f.; 5: 5c; 8: 14; 6: 1a; 9: 8 ff. (p. 13 a, e). Harper (p. cxxxii) omits 2: 4 f. doubtfully; 9: 8–15. G. A. Smith suspects 2: 4 f., and rejects 9: 8–15 decidedly. Sellin removes 2: 4 (because it contradicts 9: 11 f. which he regards as original), 3: 1a; and *bᵉṣion* in 6: 1. Eissfeldt omits 2: 4 f. and 9: 8–15.

[7] Cf. Wellhausen, Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte (1894), p. 70; Cornill, Prophetismus, p. 40. Seesemann, op. cit., pp. 3 and 4 assigns chs. 3–6 to Samaria, and chs. 7–9 to Beth-El, and assumes that 7: 10–17 marks the end of Amos' activity. Also Sellin, p. 154, who assumes that after the expulsion Amos returned to Judah and there wrote down his prophecies. On the other hand, Harper, p. cxxix, says that Amos "continues for a while the work which he came north to perform," but does not indicate whether any prophecies postdate his expulsion.

[8] Compare Joel 4: 18 ff., Micah 7: 14 ff. and such passages as Isaiah 60: 1–17; 61: 5–9, which can easily be augmented. Löhr claims that 2: 4 f., 6: 1 were added because of the ritual use of the book in the synagogue. Actually the whole trend of Rabbinic thought, which flowered during the period of Jewish subjugation, was to deprecate and oppose the prophetic denunciations of Israel. Thus they object to

days of the early literary prophets is today no longer disputed, in the light of our better understanding of the genesis of the Hebrew law-codes and such passages as I Samuel 15:23; Hos. 4:6; 8:1, 12; Isaiah 5:24; 8:16, 20; 30:9. The "falsehoods" could very naturally refer to the entire ritual system practiced without regard to righteousness which Amos castigates in Israel (5:21 ff.).[9] Besides, Amos' extraordinary grasp of international affairs and his noble impartiality of judgment make it impossible to believe that he would be either ignorant of or indifferent to conditions in his native land.

Two additional considerations reënforce the view that this passage is genuine. The Great Arraignment in chapters 1 and 2 was undoubtedly delivered at a gathering in Israel. With consummate skill, Amos begins the judgment on Damascus, Israel's hereditary enemy, an announcement which was undoubtedly heard with relish. He then passes to the other neighbors of Israel — Philistia, Tyre,[10] Edom, Ammon and Moab. He could not have omitted Judah, Israel's nearest neighbor, who so often proved its enemy. Finally, while it has been observed that the present text contains seven nations,

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Isaiah's characterization of Israel as "a people of unclean lips" (Isaiah 6:5) and declare his alleged martyrdom to have been the penalty for this sin. Cf. Yebamot 49b, Sanh. 103b and L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol. IV, pp. 263, 267; Vol. VI, p. 374, n. 103.

[9] *Kazabh* occurs in the singular in Hos. 12:2, Ps. 40:5, and in the plural in Hos. 7:13. Note also the use of *šikkusim* as early as Hos. 9:10.

[10] The sections on Philistia, Tyre and Edom have been frequently deleted (Harper, p. cxxxi; Eissfeldt, p. 444 "probably"). Sellin (pp. 165 f.) discusses the objections raised against their authenticity and concludes that there are no decisive grounds, either in fact or content, for rejecting them. He then proceeds to eliminate Tyre, Edom and Judah on metrical grounds, which are not at all conclusive. He also argues from the fact that these sections lack the concluding formula *'amar Yahveh* found in the other four. Actually the desire for variety in style, even within a compact structure, would account for this change perfectly. It may be added that in the present text the use of the closing formula, *'amar Yahveh* follows a definite scheme: It is used twice (Damascus v. 5, Gaza v. 6), then omitted twice (Tyre, v. 10, Edom, v. 12), then used twice again (Ammon v. 15, Moab 2:3), then omitted twice again (Judah 2:5, Israel 2:5). Sellin's final reason for rejecting the section on Judah is its contradiction of 9:11 f., with which we shall deal below. W. R. Smith, Kuenen, H. Schmidt, Köhler and others have maintained the integrity of this passage. Cf. Driver, ILOT, 12 ed. (1906), p. 318.

exclusive of Israel, the main burden of Amos' prophecy, it has not been noted that the number seven is particularly popular with Amos. It occurs twice more in this relatively small book. Thus, there are seven questions in the series in 3: 3–7, through which Amos seeks to emphasize the Divine source of his prophetic activity,[11] and seven calamities are listed in 4: 6–13.[12] On all these grounds, there is no adequate reason for denying the genuineness of this passage, as a growing number of scholars have recognized.

3: 1b — The phrase "Unto all the family which I have brought up from the land of Egypt" is rejected by Löhr and Sellin as an explanatory gloss, to prevent the later Judean reader from imagining that it refers only to North Israel. This likewise seems an unnecessary excision. Granted that Amos was especially concerned with deflating the chauvinism of the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom, he could still use this phrase, which serves to remind them that they were not the only recipients of God's favor, for Judah, too, could claim the identical distinction.[13] In 9: 7 Amos carries this thought to far greater lengths, by equating the Exodus with the movements of other peoples.

5: 5c — "You shall not pass over to Beersheba" — This reference to a Judean sanctuary has also been regarded with suspicion by some scholars as foreign to Amos' thought. Attention has been called to the fact that it is not referred to in the end of the verse, which deals with the destruction of Gilgal and Beth-El. But the evidence that this shrine was held in high repute in Israel is clear, not only from 8: 14 but from Elijah's pilgrimage there (I Kings 19: 3).[14] The verb "pass the boundary" is highly appropriate from the vantage-point of Israel.

6: 1 — "Woe to those at ease in Zion" has also proved a

[11] The seven examples are (1) two men meeting, (2, 3) the lion, two instances, (4, 5) the bird in the trap, two instances, (6) the trumpet, (7) the prophet.

[12] They are (1) hunger (v. 6), (2) drought for crops (v. 7), (3) thirst in the city (v. 7, 8), (4) blasting and mildew (v. 9), (5) locust (v. 9), (6) the plague (v. 10), (7) earthquake (v. 11).

[13] Seesemann, p. 5, and Harper, p. 65, argue for the authenticity of this clause on slightly different grounds.

[14] So Driver against Harper, who is doubtful about this passage and 8: 14c (op. cit., p. 111).

point of great difficulty. The word *Be·ṣion* has frequently been deleted from the phrase, leaving a lacuna that most scholars have been unable to fill.[15] Sellin's suggested *Ba'ir*, "in the city," for *Be·ṣion* is inept, and Riessler's *Be·ṣiun*, "rock," while it does less violence to the text, is not appropriate to Samaria. The present text is the only one that satisfies the minimum requirements of structure and content.

We believe that there is additional proof for the genuineness of the Masoretic text to be found in v. 2.[16] Ever since Geiger, the closing section of v. 2 אִם רַב גְּבוּלָם מִגְּבוּלְכֶם has been emended to read אִם רַב מִגְּבוּלָם גְּבוּלְכֶם or אִם רַב גְּבוּלְכֶם מִגְּבוּלָם and אַתֶּם inserted after הַטּוֹבִים. The phrase is then rendered "Are you better than these kingdoms? Is your boundary greater than theirs?" Elsewhere,[17] we have sought to demonstrate that this emendation is unnecessary, since, in prophetic style, the interrogative particle *ha* may be used where an affirmative answer is expected, in other words as equivalent to *halo'*. In such instances, the force of the passage becomes clear only if a negative is inserted in the translation. Thus, I Kings 22: 23 כִּי לָנוּ רָמוֹת הַגִּלְעָד הֲיֹדְעִתֶּם "Do you *not* know that Ramoth Gilead is ours?"; Jeremiah 31: 20 הֲבֵן יַקִּיר לִי אֶפְרַיִם, "Is not Ephraim my beloved son?" Cf. also Genesis 16: 13b, I Samuel 2: 27; Job 20: 4, 5a.

On the basis of this usage, the Masoretic text here gives excellent sense:[18] "Are they *not* better than these kingdoms? Is *not* their boundary greater than yours?" In this rendering, *hammamlakhoth ha'eleh*, "these kingdoms," can refer only to Israel and Judah, mentioned as Zion and Samaria in v. 1, and

[15] Cf. Seesemann, p. 3, Löhr, op. cit., p. 17.

[16] This phrase is generally regarded as a gloss because the Assyrian conquest of Hamath (720), Calneh (738) and Gath (711) took place after Amos' day. It may be left open whether early signs of weakness in these city-states could not have been obvious earlier to the keen gaze of the prophet, especially since the Assyrian conquerors proceeded piece-meal with their victims. (Cf. Isaiah 8: 23 for the analogous treatment of Israel.) At all events, the gloss would be an early one, dating from the end of the eighth century (Harper, op. cit., p. 146).

[17] "A Rhetorical Use of Interrogative Sentences in Biblical Hebrew" (AJSL), Vol. XLIX No. 3 (Apr., 1933), pp. 212–17.

[18] The pronoun *hem* is understood after *hatobhim*. Cf. Ewald, Lehrbuch (Göttingen, 1863), sec. 303, b. 1. He compares also Psalm 16: 8 (sc. *hu'*), II Sam. 14: 4 (sc. *'anaḥnu*), II Chron. 17: 27 (sc. *hu'*), II Chron. 18: 3 (sc. *'ani*); II Chron. 19: 6 (sc. *hu'*).

hence *bᵉṣion* is authentic. It may be added that *mamlakhah* is used for the kingdom of Israel by Amos in 9: 8.

8: 14c — *vᵉḥey derekh bᵉ'er šebha'*, "As the way to Beer-sheba liveth." On the authenticity of this second reference to the Judean sanctuary, see above on 5: 5. The juxtaposition of Dan and Beersheba and the reference to the "road to Beer-sheba" [19] would seem to strengthen the view that the clause is genuine.

9: 8b — "But I shall not completely destroy (*hašmed 'ašmid*) the house of Jacob," is eliminated by some scholars as the interpolation of a reader, who could not bear the thought of Israel's complete destruction, implied in the first half of the verse. Unlike the glossator of 2: 4; 6: 1, who insists on including Judah in the doom, this glossator is one of milder tendencies. As a matter of fact, however, the thought that a part of the nation will escape is implicit in the metaphor of the sieve in v. 9.[20]

9: 11 ff. — This section has been widely regarded as a later interpolation (Duhm, Wellhausen, Marti, Cornill, Harper, Volz and Löhr) because of many reasons, the chief of which is the reference to the restoration of the fallen hut of David and the picture of idyllic conditions.

On the other hand, König, Orelli and, more recently, Stärk, Gressmann, H. Schmidt, Köhler and Sellin have argued persuasively for the authenticity of the section, in whole or in part.

"The fallen hut of David" refers to the Davidic dynasty, which was relatively weak in Amos' day, holding sway over

[19] Winckler's brilliant emendation of *derekh* into *dodekh* based on the Septuagint ὁ θεός σου has been widely accepted. The word, however, occurs only in proper names in the Bible (cf. II Chron. 20: 37), and on the Mesha Inscription line 12. On the other hand, an oath "by the road to Beersheba" is paralleled by the Islamic oath "by the pilgrimage to Mecca"; cf. Harper and Sellin ad loc. If the Masoretic text be retained, the reference to "the road to Beersheba," like 5: 5, testifies to a North Israelite point of origin.

[20] The metaphor may be interpreted in two ways. The *ṣᵉror* may mean the corn, which remains in the fine sieve, after the dust is eliminated, and would thus refer to the righteous who are to be saved. Or it may mean "the stone" (cf. II Sam. 17: 13), which is left behind in the coarse sieve, and hence be a symbol of the wicked who cannot escape punishment. Cf. Wetzstein in ZDPV (1891), pp. 1–7. In either case, there is a process of selection and hence a partial salvation.

only a fraction of its former domains. The passage does not presuppose the exile of Judah. Sellin justly points out that there is no later eschatological vision in v. 12. A later writer would have undoubtedly included far more territory in his hopes for the future. As an example of the grandiose scope of later eschatology, we may note Zech. 14: 17: "And it shall come to pass that whoso of the families of the earth goeth not up unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, upon them, there shall be no rain." Here the prophet merely pictures the restoration of the Davidic kingdom to its former dimensions. For the clause "The nations over which My name has been called" means "the subject peoples of Israel." The sway of a God was coterminous with the power of his people.[21] Krochmal demonstrated long ago that "God" is frequently used where moderns would speak of the national spirit.[22]

V'šabhti 'eth šebhuth 'ammi is the idiom frequently used of the exile, but it can well mean "I shall restore my people to its former estate," as in Zeph. 2: 7, Ezek. 15: 63 and Job 42: 10.

Concerning vv. 13–15, decision is more difficult. They are obviously based upon the Paradise traditions and would thus belong to the oldest eschatological stratum in Israel's thought, as Gressmann has persuasively argued.[23] On the other hand, these last three verses may be a post-exilic addition, designed to give the book a vividly consolatory close (cf. Joel 4: 18 ff. and Micah 7: 14 ff.).

The basic objection to the genuineness of this entire passage (9: 8 ff.) has been characteristically formulated by Wellhausen. Amos' words, he declares, are always blood and iron, and here we find roses and lavender. In other words, Amos is everywhere the stern proclaimer of doom; here he is the announcer of hope. While this characterization of Amos is somewhat exaggerated, it cannot be denied that there is a striking contradiction between the attitude toward Judah in 2: 4 and that expressed in 9: 11. If the evidence points to the genuineness of both passages, we are face to face with a real difficulty.

[21] Ps. 60: 8–12 is particularly illuminating for our passage.

[22] Krochmal, More Nebuke Hazeman — latest edition (Berlin, 1934), chap. 7.

[23] Der Ursprung der israelitisch — juedischen Eschatologie (Göttingen, 1905), passim. Cf. especially pp. 151 f.; 238 ff. and on our passage pp. 141, 209, 231, 255.

We believe that the solution may be found in reconsidering the second principle of Amos criticism, namely, that he prophesied a short time and that his public activity as a prophet ended with his expulsion from Beth-El by Amaziah. Besides having no objective evidence to recommend it, this hypothesis seems psychologically untenable. A powerful nature, like that of Amos, who answers Amaziah with dignity and conviction, would not consent to be silenced. He might be driven out of Beth-El, perhaps out of Israel, but he could never forget that "the Lord Jahveh has spoken, who can but prophesy!" It is because of this theory that varied but unconvincing efforts have been made to remove the historical section 7: 10–17 from its present place.

Both the problem of the apparent contradictions relative to Judah's destiny and the position of this historical section can be solved by this simple assumption: *The book of Amos contains two collections of prophecies, — the first (chapters 1–7: 9) delivered before the encounter at Beth-El (A), the second, chapters 8 and 9, added later and consisting of oracles delivered after the encounter (B).*[23a] *The historical material (7: 10–17) (H) was added to the first collection before the second was part of the book.* Hence the history of the composition may be summarized in the formula A + H + B.

In support of this theory, the following considerations may be adduced. It seems clear that in the editing of the prophetic books historical material was often placed after the prophecies, as a kind of supplement. When additional prophecies, assumed rightly or wrongly to belong to the same prophet, were discovered, they were placed after the supplementary material.

Thus in the case of Isaiah, the original collection (chapters

[23a] When this paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in December, 1939, Professor R. H. Pfeiffer kindly called our attention to the problem as to *where* the prophecies of the second collection were delivered. There is no decisive evidence on this point, but Amos' preoccupation with Israel's doom in chs. 8–9 would imply that he continued his activity somewhere in Israel, perhaps in Samaria. Even Beth-El is not ruled out, for the record (7: 10–17) does not state that Amos was actually driven out, and it is he who has the last and decisive word. At all events, Amaziah's interdict proved no more successful than the later attempts made to prevent Jeremiah's activity.

1–35) [24] was supplemented by historical traditions (chapters 36–39). The additional chapters 40–66, which were assumed to be Isaianic,[25] were not placed in their "proper" position among the prophecies (after chapter 35), but were added after the historical material (after chapter 39).

The same procedure meets us in Jeremiah. The prophecies (A) (chapters 1–25) are supplemented by the extensive historical material (H) embodied in chapters 26–45. Finally the oracles against the nations (B) are added to the preëxistent collections (chapters 46–52).

If this view be adopted, the problems of structure outlined at the beginning of this paper disappear. The first collection (A) was systematically edited. It contains (a) the great judgment on the nations (chapters 1, 2), (b) three prophecies beginning with "Hear this word" (chapters 3, 4, 5: 1–6), (c) three denunciations beginning with "Woe" (5: 7; 5: 18; 6: 1) and (d) three visions, constituting a unit, beginning with "Thus, the Lord showed me" (7: 1, 4, 7).[26]

The second collection of prophecies (B), delivered after the encounter with Amaziah, will naturally show the stylistic marks of Amos. Again we have a vision beginning with "Thus, the Lord showed me" (8: 1), and a prophecy beginning with "Hear" (8: 4), besides a vision beginning with "I saw" (9: 1), as well as material introduced by the clauses "it shall come to pass on that day" (8: 9) and "behold, days are coming" (8: 11 and 9: 13). There is, therefore, no need to rearrange any section of the book.

Aside from clarifying the actual structure of the book, this theory of two prophetic collections sheds light upon Amos' thought. It has been universally recognized that "the scene at Beth-El marks a turning-point in Amos' thought." [27] If this

[24] That this collection had its earlier independent history goes without saying, but does not affect the argument.

[25] Cf. Ben Sira 48: 24 "With the spirit of might he beheld the future (*'aḥarith*) and comforted the mourners for Zion."

[26] The historical reference in the opening section (cf. 1: 1) is clear. The dating "two years after the earthquake" refers to the first period of Amos' activity, the literary remains of which are included in chaps. 1–7.

[27] Harper, op. cit., p. cxxix.

be true, we should expect a marked change of attitude before and after the turning-point, nor are we disappointed in this expectation. The development of Amos' ideas may perhaps be reconstructed as follows:

When Amos received a call to go to Israel, he was not assured of success, but he had some hope that his message might help to save at least a remnant in Israel. Hence in collection A, Israel is warned of destruction but a modicum of hope is held out. The mighty will be destroyed (2: 14 f.) and the rich will be struck down with their possessions (3: 15; 4: 1 ff.) or go into exile (4: 2 f.; 6: 7). The suffering and ruin of the people will be widespread (7: 1 ff.). But if Israel will learn to hate evil and establish justice, it may be that the Lord of Hosts will have pity upon the remnant of Joseph (5: 14 f. cf. 5: 4, 6) and forgive Jacob since it is weak (7: 1–6). The people have but to seek the Lord in truth (5: 4) by striving after goodness, and God will be with them (5: 14), for it is justice that He demands above all things (5: 24). It is noteworthy that Amos proclaims only the destruction of the cult and the political status quo in 7: 9.[28]

Judah, on the other hand, is of slight interest to the prophet during this period, since he is preoccupied with the destiny of Israel. He is, however, too fair and too observant to overlook the sins of Judah and he denounces its religious and social transgressions in no uncertain terms (2: 4 f.; 5: 5c; 6: 1a).

Then comes his encounter with Amaziah. Not only has Amos failed to make a salutary impression, but further prophetic activity is forbidden him. We may perhaps discern his very human resentment against this refusal to hear God's word in 8: 11, 12, where he announces the day when men will be needing Divine guidance and not finding it.[29]

[28] It is Amaziah who seeks to heighten the impression by quoting Amos as announcing the death of Jeroboam himself and not merely of his dynasty, as well as the exile of the people (7: 11). It is only as Amos is being expelled that he takes up these words of Amaziah and makes them part of his own message (7: 17).

[29] It is interesting that Amos couples the fruitless search for God's word with the perishing of youth. This association of idealism with youth is characteristic of Amos, cf. 2: 11–12. The earlier passage indicates the sin, the later one the penalty, for suppressing the natural idealistic impulses of youth. There is no need, therefore, to eliminate 8: 11b, 12b with Sellin, who thus leaves only the reference to a physical hunger in the text.

As a result of his expulsion, Amos comes to the tragic conviction that there is not the slightest hope for Israel. Hence in collection B, Israel's total destruction is pictured. The end has come for my people Israel (8:2); its crimes will never be forgotten (8:7); the sinful kingdom will be totally destroyed (9:8).

Amos, however, is not only a prophet of the Lord; he is also a son of his people.[30] He cannot believe that the house of Jacob will be utterly destroyed. Exactly as Isaiah after him, his stern sense of justice declares that the sinful people must be punished, but his innate love for his nation does not let him acquiesce in its complete extinction. A generation later, Isaiah solves the contradiction by his doctrine of the Saving Remnant, a process of moral selection in which only the morally fittest survive. Amos, an earlier and perhaps less profound figure, solves it more simply — Israel is doomed, but Judah will be saved. The whole house of Jacob will not be utterly wiped out (9:8b). On the contrary, the Davidic dynasty will be restored to full power and hold sway over the kingdom once ruled by David (9:12). A noble Israel, obedient to God's will, will experience the genuine prosperity which is the reward of righteousness (9:13 ff.).[31]

[30] Eissfeldt's judgment on Amos (p. 446), "Denn Gott ist ihm alles, Israel nichts," seems to us an impossible attitude for a Hebrew prophet.

[31] One problem raised by the assumption of two collections divided at 7:17 must be discussed. That the four visions in 7:1–9 and 8:1–3 constitute a unit has been often taken for granted (so Löhr, op. cit., pp. 26 f.) though not always (cf. Driver, ILOT, 12 ed., pp. 315 f.). In the first two, the prophet interposes a plea for mercy and thus prevents the locust and the fire from completing their deadly work. In the last two, the refrain is *lo' 'osiph od 'abhor lo* (7:9 and 8:2) and no plea for mercy would avail. The destruction of the cult and of the state is announced in the third vision, and the end of the people in the fourth.

If the fourth vision is regarded as distinct from the other three, there is no problem in the assumption that the first three belong to the first period and the fourth to the second. If they be regarded as a unit, the problem of the position of the narrative becomes especially acute, for the historical section is then inserted in the middle of a single utterance.

It seems most likely, however, that 8:1–3 is a distinct vision and that 7:1–9 constitutes a striking and effective unit. First one peril is averted by the prophet's plea, then another. The third time, no pleas will serve, for the catastrophe is certain — the cult and the state are doomed. The fourth vision would be an anti-climax by its repetition of the theme of doom. At a later time, of course, the prophet could return to the

We may summarize the discussion by the following theses:

1. The book of Amos consists of two collections of prophecies, with a historical record as a supplement to the first.

2. In the first collection, Amos still has hopes for a national salvation of Israel. Judah does not concern him greatly, though he is aware of its sins, and announces its punishment.

3. In the second collection, written after his expulsion from Beth-El, he sees only the complete destruction of Israel. It is to a reconstituted Judah that he looks for the survival of his people.

If these suggestions be adopted, there is no need for any extensive transfer or elimination of material. Barring minor additions, the book is the authentic work of Amos.

No less significant is the insight gained into the development of his personality and ideas. No longer need we assume a short period of activity and a long silence thereafter. Amos takes his place among the prophets not only as a dauntless teacher of the truth, but as a very human figure, knowing resentment and despair, but experiencing too the buoyancy of hope of one who deeply loves his people.

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style of these visions, and pen another emphasizing his new conviction of the complete destruction of Israel (8: 1–3).

It may be added that the fourth vision is not as identical in form with the first three as is usually believed. In the latter, Jahveh appears himself, "He creates the locusts" (7: 1), "He calls to judgment by fire" (7: 4), and "He stands beside a wall" (7: 7). In the fourth, Jahveh is not part of the vision at all. Besides, the word-play of *kaiṣ* and *keṣ* has no parallel in the earlier visions.

"VETUS SUPERSTITIO ET NOVA RELIGIO" THE PROBLEM OF *REFRIGERIUM* IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF NORTH AFRICA

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THE history of the Church in North Africa, so far at least as the sources are concerned, begins for us in the year 180, and it begins with martyrdoms. At Carthage on July 17, Namphano of Madaura, called "Protomartyr" by Augustine, Miggin, Sanam, and six other Christians from Scili in Numidia were sentenced to death by the proconsul Saturninus and beheaded. The official record of their trial has been preserved to us in Greek and Latin and constitutes the oldest document in Africa's Church History.

The rapid development of the Christian Church in this country during the following decades is paralleled only in the history of its spread in Asia Minor. Many scholars have asked the reason for that extraordinary and constant progress. P. Monceaux [1] and H. Leclercq [2] thought of a monotheism hidden in the background of African polytheism which, as they supposed, gave a starting point for the Christian teaching. But similar conditions were often found elsewhere by the Christian missioners (Athens was not the only place in which the pagan was led to the "altar of the Unknown God"), and yet their success was not everywhere the same. Be that as it may, favorable conditions, perhaps cultural, must have smoothed the path of Christianity in *Africa proconsularis*. To appreciate the influence of such factors we need only observe that the expansion of Christianity followed directly the flourishing of culture in this country from the end of the second to the end of the third century.

But the fact also remains that the increasing penetration of that region by Christian elements was purchased at the exorbitant price of numerous martyrdoms. It may not be accidental

[1] P. Monceaux, Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne, Paris, 1901, I, 10.
[2] H. Leclercq, L'Afrique chrétienne, Paris, 1904, I, 42.

that the aphorism *Semen est sanguis Christianorum* originated with an African.[3] The most touching Christian record of a martyrdom handed down to us, that of Perpetua and Felicitas, comes from Carthage. The visitor to the ruins sees even today the remnants of the *Basilica Maiorum* or *Restituta*,[4] in which their relics were deposited, and the fragments of the inscription: "*Hic sunt martyres Saturnus Saturninus Revocatus Secundulus Felicitas Perpetua passi nonis Martiis.*" When one examines the list of the Christian towns and villages of North Africa, he rarely sees the name of a place that did not have its martyrs, and he understands why Augustine once asked: "*Numquid non et Africa sanctorum martyrum corporibus plena est?*" [5]

These facts explain why an exceptionally developed martyr-cult is one of the most characteristic features of Christian Africa. From the writings of Augustine alone we know of not less than twenty martyrs' basilicas in Carthage.[6] To the great Bishop and martyr Cyprian three memorial Churches were dedicated within the area of the town,[7] one in the *Ager Sexti*, the very place of his martyrdom, the so-called *Mensa Cypriana*;[8] another above his tomb in the *Areae Macrobii Candidiani*;[9] and a third on the seacoast.[10] Among the Churches of the martyrs at Hippo, Augustine mentions at one time or another: a *Basilica Leontiana* in honor of the Bishop and martyr Leontius of Hippo; [11] a *Basilica ad Octo Martyres*,[12] built by Augustine himself; a *Memoria Celeberrima ad Viginti Martyres*; [13] and a

[3] Tertullian, Apologeticum, 50, 13.

[4] See J. Sauer, Der Kirchenbau Nordafrikas in den Tagen des hl. Augustinus (Aurelius Augustinus, Festschrift der Görresgesellschaft, edited by M. Grabmann and J. Mausbach, Köln, 1930, 248).

[5] Augustinus, Epistula 78, 3 (PL, 33, 269).

[6] See P. J. Mesnage, L'Afrique chrétienne, Paris, 1912, 11–15.

[7] See H. Delehaye, Les origines du culte des martyrs, Bruxelles, 1912, 422.

[8] Augustinus, Sermo 310, 2 (PL, 38, 1413): Denique sicut nostis, quicumque Carthaginem nostis, in eodem loco mensa deo constructa est; et tamen mensa dicitur Cypriani, non quia ibi est unquam Cyprianus epulatus, sed quia ibi est immolatus. Cf. Enarrat. in Psalm. 80, 4, 23 (PL, 37, 1036, 1046).

[9] Victor of Vita, Historia persecutionis Africae provinciae, I, p. 16 (CSEL, 7, p. 8, 14 Petschenig).

[10] Augustinus, Confessiones, 5, 8, 15.

[11] Augustinus, Sermo 260 (PL, 38, 1201).

[12] Augustinus, Sermo 356, 10 (PL, 39, 1578).

[13] Augustinus, De civitate dei, 22, 8 (CSEL, 40, 2, p. 607 Hoffmann).

Memoria S. Theogonis, dedicated to this Bishop and martyr of Hippo at the time of Cyprian.[14] We have to keep in mind, however, that Augustine never gives a formal enumeration of these Churches, but mentions them singly in various contexts. Our list represents consequently only the minimum, which was certainly surpassed by the actual number, but indicates the esteem and popularity of the cult of the martyrs. That Augustine at one time has to stress that the acts of Perpetua and Felicitas are not canonical writings [15] proves, I think, the authority the acts of martyrs had at that time.

The Church *Ad Octo Martyres* is not the only one which Augustine erected in honor of the martyrs. For the worthy veneration of the relics of the Protomartyr Stephen he established a memorial chapel in a basilica at Hippo and decorated it with an inscription of four verses in honor of this saint.[16]

To make evident the distinction between purely legendary narratives of miracles and authentic records of healings effected through the intercession of martyrs, he arranged the so-called *libelli*.[17] These are written reports of miracles which were composed by none other than those actually healed and were officially approved by the Bishop of the place. In order to intensify the veneration of martyrs these *libelli* were read for the edification of the faithful during the service. The leading motive of Augustine in adopting such a procedure was to call public attention to the miracles which occurred in his day at the shrines of the martyrs, just as the spread of the New Testament writings had impressed the miracles of Christ on the minds of all nations.[18]

[14] Augustinus, Sermo 273, 7 (PL, 38, 1251).

[15] Augustinus, De natura et origine animae, 1, 10, 12 (CSEL, 60, 1, p. 312 Urba-Zycha): nec scriptura ipsa canonica est.

[16] Augustinus, Sermo 319, 8 (PL, 38, 1442): Legite quattuor versus, quos in cella scripsimus, legite, tenete, in corde habete.

[17] See A. Harnack, Das ursprüngliche Motiv der Abfassung von Märtyrer- und Heilungsakten in der Kirche (Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1910, 106–114. H. Delehaye, Les origines du culte des martyrs, Brussels, 1912, 149 sq. W. Roetzer, Des hl. Augustinus Schriften als liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle, München, 1930, 66. A. D. Nock, Conversion, London, 1933, 89.

[18] Augustinus, De civitate dei, 22, 8 (CSEL, 40, 2, p. 596 Hoffmann): Canon quippe sacrarum litterarum, quem definitum esse oportebat, illa facit ubique recitari et memoriae cunctorum inhaerere populorum.

But more than these *libelli* which Augustine contributed to the cult of the martyrs, more than the sermons which he delivered in the Church of St. Cyprian's Sepulchre, in St. Perpetua's Basilica in Carthage, in the *Basilica Leontiana* at Hippo, and in the other martyrs' Churches, and which still today bear eloquent witness to us of his zeal for this popular form of piety — more than all this, his strong efforts for an energetic reform of the martyr-cult prove his enthusiasm for a worthy veneration of the heroes of Christianity. In his time excesses had appeared in the African cult,[19] which were very serious. These abuses cannot be understood without a consideration of the ancient cult of the dead.

As is well known, the annual commemoration of the martyr was nothing but the customary and common anniversary of the dead, except that there was more solemnity.[20] Just as it was the ordinary practice to visit regularly and adorn the graves of relatives and friends and to banquet there, so it was the practice of the Christian community to honor those dead who belonged to all — the martyrs. The cult of the martyrs thus reaped all the advantages of the cult of the dead, but had also to suffer from its disadvantages. One of the advantages was that it enjoyed extraordinary popularity; one of the disadvantages, that nowhere did innovations meet with greater opposition. People considered the cult of the martyrs, like that of the dead, as more or less their own business, a matter of private devotion which, like the domestic cult, did not belong to the office of the priesthood, or at any rate, not to the same extent as the official cult of the Deity. The center of the ancient cult of the dead had been the sacrifice for the dead. It was certainly a masterpiece of accommodation on the part of the early Church that, retaining the commemoration of the departed,[21] she substituted the funeral mass for the pagan rite.[22] Her missionary method illustrates the principle of preserving

[19] Augustine remarks in his Epistula 29, 10, that such excesses either had never existed in Italy or had ceased to exist.

[20] F. J. Dölger, IXΘΤϹ, II, Münster, 1922, 568.

[21] E. Freistedt, Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike, Münster, 1928, 114 sq.

[22] Dölger, loc. cit., 555.

folk customs and explains the toleration of a very popular feature of the ancient cult, the *Refrigerium* [23] or funeral repast. This consisted chiefly of a meal or banquet at the tomb arranged by the relatives at which the deceased was supposed to be present as host. Strictly speaking, the original idea of the custom is entirely contrary to the Christian outlook, because it represents the dead as still subject to the earthly necessities of food and drink. Nevertheless, funeral repasts were tolerated because, at the end of classical antiquity, they were little more than an expression of communion with the dead. We have a precious monument from North Africa which proves that the pagan practice was continued in Christian circles. It is the Christian inscription on the *mensa* of Ain-Kebira (the ancient Satafis in Mauretania Sitifiensis [24]), dated 299 A.D., and dedicated by a certain Statulenia Julia to the deceased seventy-five-year-old Aelia Secundula in the name of the children. The text is as follows:

Memoriae Aeliae Secundulae
Funeri multa quidem condigna iam misimus omneS,
Insuper araeque deposte Secundulae matrI,
Lapideam placuit nobis atponere mensaM,
In qua magna eius memorantes plurima factA,
Dum cibi ponuntur calicesque et copertaE,
Vulnus ut sanetur nos rodens pectore saevuM.
Libenter fabulas dum sera redimus horA
Castae matri bonae laudesque vetula dormiT.
Ipsa, quae nutriit, iaces et sobriae sempeR.
Vixit annos LXXV anno Provinciae CCLX Statulenia Iulia fecit.[25]

The inscription thus mentions clearly the serving of foods, the placing of cups, and the spreading of cushions for the meal at the tomb, or in other words, the funeral banquet. The cere-

[23] See E. Lucius, Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes in der christlichen Kirche, Tübingen, 1904, 29. 293. F. Grossi-Gondi, Il rito funebre del "refrigerium" al sepolcro apostolico dell' Via Appia, Rome, 1920, 263 sq. G. P. Oeconomus, De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus inde ab antiquissimis temporibus usque ad nostram fere aetatem usitatis, Athens, 1921, 51 sq. E. Bruck, Totenteil und Seelgerät im griechischen Recht, München, 1926, 279 sq. A. M. Schneider, Refrigerium, Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1928, 32. F. Buonaiutti, Refrigerio pagano e refrigerio cristiano (Ricerche religiose, 5, 1929, 60–67).

[24] E. Diehl, Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres, I, Berlin, 1925, 301, 1570.

[25] F. J. Dölger, Antike und Christentum, 2, 1930, 91 sq.

mony followed by the people of North Africa in the cult of the dead was not omitted from the cult of the martyrs. Just as they brought meals to the graves of their relatives, so they carried them to the tombs of the martyrs. They had been wont to celebrate the funeral banquet in their private commemorations of the departed; they celebrated the same banquet in the churches of the martyrs' sepulchres. It is remarkable, however, that we are not faced here with occasional "abuses," [26] but with a custom practised even in the best Christian families. This fact can be proved conclusively by what Augustine tells us in the second chapter of the sixth book of his Confessions about the practice of his mother. She carried the ritual food to the martyrs' tombs "as was the custom in Africa."

My mother once brought *pultes*, bread and unmixed wine to a martyr's chapel, as was the custom in Africa, but was stopped by the doorkeeper. Being informed that this was at the order of the Bishop (Ambrose) she instantly submitted with such child-like obedience that I myself marvelled. How readily she had brought herself to find fault with her own observance rather than question his prohibition! Many a man — and woman, too — is as sickened by a sober tune as a sot by a draught of water; but my mother's soul was not obsessed with drink, she was not goaded by the love of wine to hate truth. When she brought her holiday basket of food it was only to be tasted and then given away. She never allowed herself more than one little cup of wine weakened to her own quite temperate palate; this she sipped out of courtesy. If there were many memorials of the dead which she felt had to be honored in such fashion, she carried around the very same cup and used it everywhere. Already very dilute, it became impossibly flat, yet she distributed it in small sips to the guests who were with her. She sought devotion, not self-indulgence. Upon learning, however, that the custom had been forbidden by that famous preacher and champion of virtue, she was only too happy to abandon it. He had proscribed it even for those who followed it with moderation, both to avoid giving any occasion of excess to drunkards and because these festivals were too much like their superstitious pagan counterpart. She learned to bring to the martyrs' chapels, not a basket full of earthly fruits but rather a heart full of a purer intention to give all she could to the poor. It was in this spirit that she determined to celebrate the communion of the body of the Lord at the shrines where in imitation of his sufferings and death the martyrs had been sacrificed and crowned.[27]

In spite of his admiration for Monica's obedience and devotion Augustine cannot but stress how hard it was for her to discontinue a custom which she practised "seeking not self-

[26] See Th. Klauser, Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike, Münster, 1927, 139.

[27] Augustinus, Confessiones, 6, 2 (CSEL, 33, 114, Knöll).

indulgence but devotion": "But it seems to me, O Lord my God, — and thus my heart thinks of it in thy sight — that my mother perhaps would not so easily have given way to the relinquishment of this custom had it been forbidden by another whom she did not love so much as Ambrose. Him she loved most dearly out of regard for my salvation." [28]

Augustine gives two reasons by which Ambrose justified his prohibition: first, that thereby occasion for excess might be given to drunkards; and secondly, that these festivals in honor of the dead were very like the superstition of the Gentiles.[29]

It seems to me that the order of the reasons is not accidental. The intemperance which often followed the meals at the martyrs' tombs was the main reason. Except for this Ambrose might perhaps have come to terms with the second objection, that the pagans venerated their dead in a similar manner. While the pagan character of the rite was at that time scarcely felt, the dominant thought was to commemorate the dead piously in accordance with old family customs. It is therefore likely that the second reason was added in order better to justify the comprehensiveness of the prohibition, which was issued for "all, even for those who followed it with moderation." If the second reason had been basic it would be necessary to ask why the pagan origin of this custom did not hurt Christian feelings earlier.

In North Africa also the first of the two reasons led to the reform. The feastings and drinking-bouts had become the plague of the anniversaries. The Church of St. Cyprian's Sepulchre especially is said to have been the scene of such debaucheries, accompanied by dancing, disturbances and general tumult. Augustine castigates very severely these actions in this holy place in several of his sermons. When finally a prohibition was published banishing the playing of zithers, dancing, and drinking-bouts from St. Cyprian's memorial Church, Augustine praised this as an *institutio in nomine Christi*.[30] In one

[28] Ibid., p. 115.

[29] Loc. cit. Ne ulla occasio se ingurgitandi daretur ebriosis et quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima.

[30] Augustinus, Enarratio, II in Psalm. XXXII, 5 (PL, 36, 279): Nonne id egit institutio in nomine Christi Vigiliarum istarum, ut ex isto loco citharae pellerentur?

of his sermons he brands the participants in this sort of feast rather as persecutors of the martyrs, even though they run ever so often to the memorial places and like to have their cups blessed and to represent themselves as venerators of the saints.[31] But all denunciation from the pulpit was to little or no avail.

Augustine prepared, therefore, for a far-reaching reform. After he had convinced himself that it would be impossible to succeed with the means heretofore used, he addressed a long letter in the year 392 to Bishop Aurelius of Carthage, Primate of Africa, and submitted to him an elaborate plan of the proposed reform.[32] He felt that Aurelius would give him audience more readily because this bishop, even as deacon, had fought against the abuses spreading in the cult of martyrs: "And for such a reform in Carthage, what better bishop could be desired than the prelate who, while he was deacon, solemnly denounced these practices." [33]

In his letter to the Metropolitan of Carthage, Augustine declares quite openly that the efforts of any individual will remain necessarily without success as long as the new order is not founded on the supreme authority and highest example. He asks Aurelius, therefore: "Out of the respect due the Councils and yourself, bring healing to the many carnal blemishes and disorders which the African Church is suffering in the conduct of many of her members, and bewailing in the sorrow of few." [34] "So wide and deep is the plague caused by this weakness that in my opinion it cannot be completely cured without interposition of a council's authority." [35] And in this reform, in Augustine's opinion, Carthage must take the lead: "If a beginning is to be made by one church, it seems to me that, as it would be presumptuous for any other church to attempt to change what the Church of Carthage still maintains, so would it also be the

[31] G. Morin, Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti. (Miscellanea Augustiniana, I, Rome, 1930, Denis sermo 13, 4, p. 58.) Et nunc consideremus qui sint filii occisorum, et qui sint filii occidentium. Et videtis multos currere ad memorias martyrum, redire saturatos de memoriis martyrum; et tamen discute illos, et invenies inter persecutores martyrum.

[32] CSEL, 34, 54–62.

[33] Epistularum, XXII, 4 (CSEL, 34, p. 58, Goldbacher).

[34] Ibid., XXII, 2, p. 54.

[35] Ibid., XXII, 4, p. 57.

height of effrontery for any other to wish to continue in a course which the Church of Carthage had condemned." [36] The example of other countries — Augustine was thinking here of Milan — was demanding immediate reform in Africa. "If Africa were the first country in which an attempt were made to put down these things, her example would deserve to be esteemed worthy of imitation by all other countries. But throughout both the greater part of Italy and in almost all the Churches beyond the sea these practices either never existed, or, where they did exist, whether of recent or of long standing, they have been rooted out and put down by the diligence and the censures of bishops, who were holy men entertaining true views concerning the life to come. When this, I say, is the case, shall we hesitate as to the possibility of removing this monstrous defect in our morals after an example has been set before us in so many lands?" [37]

Accordingly, Augustine shows clearly enough that he demands the exercise of the supreme authority of the African Church and the example of the metropolitan church to abolish the abuses. On the other hand, he gives advice to avoid harshness in carrying out the reform. "These offenses are to be taken out of the way, at least in my judgment, by methods other than harshness, severity, and an imperious mode of acting; namely, rather by teaching than by commanding, rather by admonition than by denunciation. Thus, at least, we must deal with the multitude." [38] Above all, he insists on a separation of the cult of the martyrs from the cult of the dead, in order that his proposed reform may succeed. In so insisting, Augustine reveals his delicacy towards the traditional customs of the people. The ancients regarded the banquet at the tomb as a solace for the dead and this idea was diffused far beyond the limits of the Mediterranean culture. Augustine was afraid that the feelings of those accustomed to show the ancient reverence towards the dead might be hurt if the funeral repast were completely prohibited. Therefore, he advises Aurelius to make a distinction between the cult of the martyrs and the cult of the dead.

[36] Ibid., p. 58.
[37] Ibid., p. 57.
[38] Ibid., XXII, 5, p. 58.

However these drunken revels and luxurious feasts in the cemeteries are wont to be regarded by the ignorant and carnal multitude as not only an honor for the martyrs but also a solace for the dead. Therefore it appears to me that they might be more easily dissuaded from such scandalous and unworthy practices in these places if, besides showing that they were forbidden by Scripture, we take care in regard to the offerings for the spirits of those who sleep, that these offerings be not sumptuous beyond what is becoming to the memory of the departed, especially because we are bound to believe them to be of some use; and also, that they be distributed without ostentation and cheerfully to all who ask a share of them, and that they be not sold, but that if anyone desires to offer any money as a religious act, it be given on the spot to the poor. Thus the appearance of neglecting the memory of their deceased friends, which might cause them no small sorrow of heart, shall be avoided, and that which is a pious and honorable act of religious service shall be celebrated as it should be in the Church.[39]

Consequently Augustine's tactics differ from those of Ambrose, who forbade entirely the presentation of gifts at the tombs. Augustine proceeds more cautiously. He is willing to allow gifts to be brought to the tombs of the dead, provided that they are moderate. The meal for the dead is accordingly retained on principle, but with a different and higher value. The gifts of the banquet are destined for the poor, and it is with these alms that Augustine connects the idea of solace for the dead. *This substitution of ideas is of utmost importance both for the history of religion and for the history of culture.* That the poor supersede the dead at dinner is an ancient idea which was always very popular. In the Apostolic Constitutions it is ordained: "Let the third day of the departed be celebrated with psalms, lessons and prayers on account of Him who arose within the space of three days; and let the ninth day be celebrated in remembrance of the living and of the departed: and the fortieth day according to the ancient pattern (for so did the people lament Moses); and the anniversary day, in memory of him. And let alms be given to the poor out of his goods for a memorial of him." [40] Accordingly, alms were given to the dead on the memorial days. Still more important in this respect is the fact that the Emperor Constantine, in his Oration to the Assembly of the Saints, justifies the practice of the banquet for the dead, pointing to the fact that these meals were used to feed the poor.

[39] Epistularum, XXII, 6 (CSEL, 34, p. 58, Goldbacher).

[40] Constitutiones Apostolorum, 8, 42 (I, p. 552, Funk).

Constantine tells how the martyrs still living are already honored. Hymns and psalms sound after their death. Then he continues: "Many, too, there are whose charitable spirit leads them to prepare a temperate banquet for the comfort of the needy and the relief of those who had been driven from their homes, a custom which can only be deemed burdensome by those whose thoughts are not in accord with the divine and sacred doctrine." [41]

Augustine's plan of reform is therefore a wonderful combination of severe authority and prudent consideration for the people. How was it accepted by Aurelius of Carthage? The great African council, which was held a year after Augustine presented his plan of reform to Aurelius in 393 and which was presided over by the latter, gives us the answer to this question. It took place in the secretarium of the *Basilica Pacis* at Hippo Regius [42] and was, as Possidius tells us, a *plenarium totius Africae concilium.*[43] The Council in canon 29, which reveals the direct influence of Augustine's letter forbids the banquets in the churches, and ordains: "Bishops and clergy shall have no meals in the church unless when necessary for the refreshment of guests, and then none of the people shall be admitted." [44] As we know, Augustine had called special attention in the plan he presented to Aurelius to the fact that the clergy and their acquaintances and relatives had first to be converted: "Thus an impression shall be made in the first place upon those who are spiritual, or who are nearest to that state of mind, so that by means of the most gentle but at the same time most importunate exhortations the opposition of the rest of the multitude shall be broken down." [45] This Canon shows clearly that Aurelius pleaded for the plan of reform and the Council commanded its realization.

But Augustine himself had occasion to experience how diffi-

[41] Eusebius, Ad coetum Sanctorum (GCS, Eusebius, I, p. 171, Heikel).

[42] Cf. the title of the Acts in Codex canonum ecclesiae africanae (Mansi, III, 732): gloriosissimo imperatore Theodosio Augusto III et Abundantio viris clarissimis consulibus VIII Idus Octobris Hippone regio in secretario basilicae pacis.

[43] Possidius, Vita Augustini, 7.

[44] Mansi, III, 923.

[45] Augustinus, Epistularum, XXII, 5 (CSEL, 34, p. 58, Goldbacher).

cult this task was. We have a precious record in his letter to one of his best friends, Bishop Alypius of Tagaste.[46] According to this letter, the Council's decree seems to have been promulgated at the beginning of the year 394, because on the feast day of the martyr Leontius, the former Bishop of Hippo, there was a revolt against the new regulation. Augustine tells us that already a few weeks before the feast "some were becoming openly violent, and were declaring that they could not submit to the prohibition of that feast which they called *Laetitia*, vainly attempting to disguise their revels under a fair name." [47] Already before the feast Augustine therefore delivered two sermons, the first of these on the day immediately before the feast, directed against the hitherto existing custom of arranging banquets in honor of St. Leontius in the Basilica. Of this first sermon he gives us a detailed summary in his letter, which shows clearly what severe and rigorous language he used on that day. Passages from St. Paul's Epistles, in which the Apostle pictures the depravity of mankind in the most glaring colors,[48] are quoted several times to make clear to the audience how worthy of censure its actions are. The close of the discourse must have had a very dramatic effect: "I declared therefore that I put my trust in Him, that if they despised the weighty words which had now been read and spoken to them, He would visit them with a rod and with stripes and not leave them to be condemned with the world. In this appeal I put forth all the power in thought and utterance which, in an emergency so great and hazardous, our Savior and Ruler was pleased to supply. I did not move them to weep by first weeping myself; but while these things were being spoken, I own that, moved by the tears which they began to shed, I myself could not refrain from following their example, and when we had thus wept together, I concluded my sermon with full persuasion that they would be restrained by it from the abuses denounced." [49]

Nevertheless, Augustine had not yet broken the resistance.

[46] For the relationship of Augustine to Alypius of Tagaste cf. G. Rauschen, Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter Theodosius dem Grossen, Freiburg, 1897, p. 346 sq.

[47] Augustinus, Epistularum, XXXVIIII, 2 (CSEL, 34, p. 114, Goldbacher).

[48] For instance, I Cor. 5, 11; I Cor. 6, 9–11.

[49] Augustinus, loc. cit., 7, p. 118.

When the feast day dawned, a new opposition spread, appealing to tradition: "Wherefore is this now prohibited? Were they not Christians who in former times did not interfere with this practice?" [50]

The objection was not unjustified, so that Augustine at first did not know how to refute it. In the sermon on the feast day, he once more speaks about this question and has a discussion with those who appeal to tradition: "Lest, however, any slight should seem to be put by us on those who before our time either tolerated or did not dare to put down such manifest excesses of an undisciplined multitude, I explained to them the circumstances out of which this custom seems to have necessarily arisen in the Church. In the peace which came after such numerous and violent persecutions, crowds of pagans who wished to adopt the Christian religion were kept back because, having been accustomed to celebrate the feasts connected with their worship of idols in reveling and drunkenness, they could not easily refrain from pleasures so hurtful and habitual. It had seemed good to our ancestors, therefore, making for a time a concession to this infirmity, to permit them to celebrate instead of the festivals which they renounced other feasts in honor of the holy martyrs, observed not as before, with a profane design, but with similar self indulgence.[51] I added that upon them, as persons bound together in the name of Christ and submissive to the yoke of His august authority, the wholesome restraints of sobriety were now laid — restraints which they should be moved to accept out of the honor and fear due to Him who imposed them; that therefore the time had now come in which all who did not dare to cast off the Christian profession should begin to walk according to Christ's will. Being now confirmed, Christians should reject those concessions to infirmity which were made only for that time in order that they might become such." [52]

Augustine's sermon had the desired effect. The banquets did not take place on this day in the Basilica, though they were go-

[50] Ibid., 8, p. 119.

[51] See J. Quasten, Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit, Münster, 1930, pp. 232–247: Heidnische Pannychis und christliche Vigil.

[52] Augustinus, loc. cit., 9, pp. 119–120.

ing on as usual in the Church of the Donatists, so that in a sermon of thanks which he delivered in the afternoon, according to the special wish of the old Bishop Valerius, he declared that the beauty of day is enhanced by contrast with the night, and that when anything black is near, the purity of white is more pleasing.[53]

Accordingly, Augustine's support of the cult of the martyrs, and, still more, his solicitude for a worthy form of this veneration of the saints, show his understanding for the traditional piety of the people. K. Holl [54] has already pointed out the importance of emphasizing this fact in any adequate evaluation of the work and character of the great Bishop of Hippo. The motto of Augustine's reform is most appropriately expressed in his own words:

Ut vetus superstitio consummetur
et nova religio perficiatur.[55]

[53] Augustinus, loc. cit., 11, p. 121.

[54] Cf. K. Holl, Augustins innere Entwicklung (Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, III, Tübingen, 1928, 105).

[55] Frangip. serm., 8, 5 (G. Morin, Miscellanea Augustiniana, I, Rome, 1930, p. 231).

THE ROME OF TWO NORTHERN PILGRIMS: ARCHBISHOP SIGERIC OF CANTERBURY AND ABBOT NIKOLÁS OF MUNKATHVERÁ [1]

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE pilgrim-diaries associated with Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–994), and Nikolás, abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Munkaþverá, Iceland (1155–1159), commend themselves to historians of ecclesiastical Rome on more than one count. Both diaries include itineraries unusually detailed for their periods and in this regard are unique for the countries of origin and valuable in regard to the history of the regions traversed. More than this, and of particular moment for the historian of the medieval Church, both diaries devote considerable attention to sights seen in the Eternal City. Here these little works offer a welcome, in a sense intimate, view of Rome of the periods in question; for they tell us one very important thing that the medieval Baedekers do not,[2] namely, just what two individuals elected to see or were shown or, equally significant, what two men chose to note down or especially remembered in the course of their tour of the city. The English diary with its systematic list of Roman churches — the titles often in a dubious Latin (see the individual items, especially pp. 275–276 below) — furnishes us, furthermore, with a little

[1] To save space, I have from the outset used heavily abbreviated titles of works cited; a key to these abbreviations will be found under § IV, pp. 288–289.

[2] For example the Einsiedeln Itinerary, the Mirabilia urbis Romae, and the Graphia aureae urbis Romae; for editions see L. J. Paetow, A Guide to the Study of Medieval History (2d ed., New York, 1931), p. 374. On Einsiedeln see further Hülsen, pp. iii–iv and pp. 4–5 for list of Roman churches. DAchL under "Itinéraires" col. 1841–1922. To these earlier guide-books I should like to add in passing G. B. Cao, "Il viaggio in Italia di un pellegrino inglese nel 1344," Bollettino della società geografica italiana, 6th Ser., IV (1927), 476–496; C. A. Mills ed., þe Solace of Pilgrimes, a Description of Rome, circa A.D. 1450, by John Capgrave (Oxford, 1911); and C. E. Woodruff ed., A XVth Century Guide-Book to the Principal Churches of Rome, compiled c. 1470 by William Brewyn (London, 1933).

catalogue that, coming between the list of Leo III (806)[3] and the list that the papal chamberlain Cencio Savelli (later Pope Honorius III) compiled in 1192,[4] fills an obvious gap. The Icelandic diary, though less important in this regard, gains in interest by including a number of secular monuments and considerable detail about the churches, wanting in the English work. Both texts are worthy of more study than has been devoted to them. In the following pages I have attempted to identify the monuments here in question in such a way as to make possible for one to take once again, so to speak, these ecclesiastical Cook's Tours of long ago.

II. Archbishop Sigeric's Rome

989. Hēr was Sīrīc tō arcebiscope gehādod . . . siþþan fērde tō Rōme æfter his pallium

Hic consecratus est Siricus ad archiepiscopatum Cantię . . . hic Siricus [*partly erased*] ivit ad Romam pro palio.

This entry for 989 (more rightly 990) in the bilingual annals (Old-English and Latin) in British Museum Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII (fol. 58^{v})[5] contains a simple statement of a not particularly remarkable event.[6] It tells us that Sigeric (also known as Siric),[7] archbishop of Canterbury, went to

[3] For editions see Hülsen, pp. iv–v, list of churches, pp. 6–10.

[4] For editions see Hülsen, pp. v–vi, list of churches, pp. 10–17.

[5] Thorpe's and Plummer's F-text, at present being edited by Marie Hoffmann of Strassburg i. El. and myself. For a very careful study of the language of the OE portions of the text (late West-Saxon with numerous Kenticisms) see C.-H. Fernquist, Studier i modern Språkvetenskap XIII (Uppsala, 1937), 41–103, summary pp. 52–53, § 4. It may be noted here that, while the present annal does not occur in other versions of the Old-English Chronicle, a very similar entry (under what is surely the correct date, 990) does occur in the Easter Table (a Canterbury document) in Brit. Mus. Ms. Cotton Caligula A. XV, fol. 132^{v}: "*990: Hēr Sīrīc biscop fōr tō Rōme*," ed. Felix Liebermann, Ungedruckte anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen (Strassburg i. El., 1879), p. 3. The present annal, in reflecting a specialized interest in Canterbury affairs, is characteristic of F, beyond all question a Canterbury book; see Charles Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles parallel II (Oxford, 1899), xxxvi § 28.

[6] On numerous English pilgrimages to Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries see Moore, pp. 8–89, 126–127 (chronological table); for the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries see Jung, pp. 15–31; and for the twelfth P. B. Schaeffer, Englishmen in Italy in the Twelfth Century: Rome (unpublished Harvard diss., 1923).

[7] For a biographical notice, see Wm. Hunt in The Dictionary of National Biography under "Sigeric or Siric"; also Hook, pp. 431–439, and for scattered notes on

Rome[8] probably in the summer of 990 [9] to receive the pallium from the pope, then John XV (989–996). Such an entry in the Chronicles would not detain us long if some unknown member of the archbishop's retinue had not made this journey particularly memorable by jotting down a set of notes which amounts to a sketch, if not a full picture, of the archbishop's sojourn in Rome and of his return-itinerary from Rome to the Channel. Composed in Latin and preserved in British Museum Ms. Cotton Tiberius B. V, fol. 22^{v}–23^{r},[10] these notes constitute in effect an Anglo-Latin pilgrim-diary of the late tenth century, properly described by Moore (p. 86) as "the only complete itinerary of an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to Rome which we possess."[11] That the unknown author was an Englishman is likely, for he speaks at the outset of "*our* archbishop" (*archiepiscopi nostri*). Nothing more is known about the diarist.

The text of the diary has been printed twice in full, and a third time in part, by as many different persons; none would seem to be obligated to his predecessor. The editions, none quite accurate, are:

1. Hook. First edition (I, 434 fn.: "never been printed"). Hook gives the complete text but does not identify either churches or places.

2. Stubbs. Stubbs gives the complete text; he does not identify the churches though he identifies correctly many of the places, some very difficult, of the itinerary.

Sigeric's association with Ælfric, abbot and great English writer, see C. L. White, Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings (Yale Studies in English II, Boston, 1898), Index under "Sigeric."

[8] The period of Otto III and Crescentius I; for a brief statement on this period see Léon Homo, Rome médiévale 476–1420 (Paris, 1934), pp. 85–86, also Hook, p. 433. For Italy in the second half of the tenth century see EI XIX, map facing p. 808 (in art. "Italia").

[9] See Stubbs, p. 391, n. 1 bottom; Charles Plummer, op. cit., II, 173 (under the year 989). Miller, p. 31, thinks that the journey could scarcely have been made before the spring of 991; so Hook, p. 433, but cf. p. 434, fn. line 3 for the 990 date; also White, op. cit., p. 52.

[10] A partial analysis of the contents in Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde V (1880), 637–640.

[11] Next comes, as far as I know, the diary of Sæwulf, A.D. 1102–1103, text and translation, ed. Wm. R. Brownlow in the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, Publ. 21, London, 1892 — obviously post-Conquest.

3. Miller (p. 156: "noch nirgends erwähnt"). Miller omits the list of churches altogether, but identifies many places correctly. On pp. 30–31 is a description of the Ms. and an analysis of its contents. This partial edition suffers especially from Miller's lack of familiarity with the specifically Old-English letters employed here and there.[12]

As Miller (p. 31) observed, the expression "archiepiscopi *nostri*" at the beginning of the text (see p. 271 below) suggests that the diary was written during Sigeric's lifetime and hence not later than 994, the year of the archbishop's death. The general accuracy of the data makes it indeed probable that the work (the prototext) was composed or compiled on the journey itself, that is in the year 990. Script and internal evidence point to the early part of the eleventh century, probably before 1016,[13] as the date of the present text; this is, accordingly, at least one transcript, and very likely more than one, removed from the prototext (*Urtext*).

We may now turn to the text itself or rather to that initial

[12] Some use has been made of this important little document by students of medieval travel-routes, e.g. E. Oehlmann, "Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter," Jahrb. f. schweiz. Geschichte III (1878), especially p. 250; Aloys Schulte, Geschichte d. mittelalterl. Handels u. Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland u. Italien mit Anschluss von Venedig I (Leipzig, 1900), 67; and J. E. Tyler, The Alpine Passes — the Middle Ages (926-1260) (Oxford, 1930), pp. 8–9, 15. These writers, and sporadically a few others, in the main follow Stubbs's identification of the stopping places (*submansiones*) of the itinerary part of the diary. There has, however, been only one thorough-going study of the itinerary, in this case limited to the stretch between Rome and Lucca, namely that by Julius Jung, "Das Itinerar des Erzbischofs Sigeric von Canterbury und die Strasse von Rom über Siena nach Luca, "Mittheilungen d. Instituts f. österreichische Geschichtsforschung XXV (1904), 1–90; see especially pp. 15–16 for a pointed comment on the comparative neglect of this document. For a detailed analysis of the itinerary proper see Magoun, "An English Pilgrim-Diary of the Year 990," Mediaeval Studies (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto), II (1940), 231–252.

[13] See Heinrich Henel, Studien zum ae. Computus (in Max Förster's Beiträge zur engl. Philologie, Vol. XXVI, Leipzig, 1934), p. 23 and fn. 64. I may add that the hand of the diary is the same as that of the immediately preceding list of tenth century popes and the marginal list of English bishops. This list of bishops is printed by Pauli and Liebermann in Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde V (1880), 639–640 and, with some additional discussion, by Louis Duchesne in Le Liber Pontificalis II (Paris, 1892), xv. Ælfric's De Temporibus, discussed by Henel, immediately follows the diary on fol. 23^{r}. Stubbs's statement (p. 391, n. 1) that "the Ms. is contemporary with Sigeric's pontificate" can no longer be viewed as right.

portion which lists the churches of Rome [14]: this is printed as closely as possible according to the Ms., while all corrections and even the expansion of the commonest abbreviations are confined to the commentary on the individual churches (pp. 271–275 below). To facilitate reference to the text the churches are, however, numbered parenthetically with arabic numerals in order, an order which, as will be seen, is obviously that in which they were visited.

ADVENTUS ARCHI ẹ̄P̄Ī N̄R̄Ī SIGERICI ADROMĀ PRIMITUS ADLIMITE BEATI PETRI AP̄L̄Ī (1).

Deinde adscām mariā scolam Anglorū(2). adsc̄m Laurentiū. incraticula (3). adsc̄m ualentinū inponte molui (4). Adscm agnes (5). Adsc̄m laurentium foris murum (6). Adsc̄m sebastianum (7). Adsc̄m Anastasium (8). Adsc̄m paulum (9). Adsc̄m bonefatium (10). Adsc̄m sauinam (11). Adscām. mariam scolam grecam (12). Adscām ceciliam (13). Adsc̄m crisogonū (14). Adscām mariā transtyberi (15). Adsc̄m pancratium (16). Deinde reuersi sunt indomum. Mane adscām mariā retunda (17). Adscōs aplōs (18). Adsc̄s iohs̄ inlaterane (19). Inde refecimus cū dn̄i aplīco iohō. De inde Adierlm̄ (20). Adscām mariam maiorem (21). Adsc̄m petrum Aduincula (22). Adsc̄m laurentium ubi corpus eius assatus fuit (23).

In the following commentary the churches are taken up in numerical order. The modern title is given, also the street location and, where known, the date or approximate date of foundation. It is of sentimental interest if nothing more to know whether a given church was already old in Sigeric's day. For readers who, like myself, do not know Rome well I have given references to the three maps (I, II, III) of Rome at the end of Karl Baedeker's Rome and Central Italy (16th English ed., Leipzig, 1930; the maps are substantially the same in all recent editions) and to the main map (I) in Hülsen. At the end of each item references are furnished to modern works of various character, in which fuller information may be obtained about the church in question. In conclusion, the reader is again reminded of the key to the abbreviations used, given under § IV, pp. 288–289 below.

ad limitem Beati Petri apostoli (1), "to the boundary of St. Peter the Apostle," the Vatican church of St. Peter's, S. Pietro in Vaticano (Baed. I,

[14] Not hitherto discussed beyond a very sketchy account in H. K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages IV (London, 1910), 380–382.

6; Hülsen EFab). Of the old basilica only fragments now remain; the remodelling of the old basilica which ultimately led to a complete reconstruction was begun about 1450. TM esp. 55–65, Armellini 695 ff., Hülsen 417–418 § 14.

ad Sanctam Mariam, Scolam Anglorum (2), S. Maria in Saxia, more commonly known as S. Spirito in Sassia or Borgo S. Spirito (Baed. II, 9; Hülsen Fd). The old church was built ca. 850. The later name, S. Spirito, seems to date from after 1500. This church is presumably referred to in the *diaconia beatae Dei genetricis foris porta beati Petri apostoli* of Leo III (No. 10). The term *Scola Anglorum* has reference both to the community of English clerics in Rome and to the area occupied by them; on this see most recently Moore, pp. 91 ff. and especially 116 and n. 1. It may be safely assumed that the English visitors lodged in this English "district" during their sojourn in Rome. TM 342, 63 fn. †, Armellini 772–773, Hülsen 363–364 § 83.

ad Sanctum Laurentium in Craticula (3), literally "St. Lawrence on the little gridiron" (cf. Lat. *crātis* f.). The visitors set out from their hostel (2) and come now to their first church which, like Nos. 6 and 23, is dedicated to St. Lawrence; thence they go on to St. Valentine's (4). There are two possible interpretations here and of these the more likely would seem to be the well-known S. Lorenzo in Lucina, piazza di Lucina, off the Corso Umberto (Baed. I, 18; Hülsen Ek). This church is documented from A.D. 366 and is included in the lists of Einsiedeln (No. 33) and Leo (No. 33). The cognomen "in Lucina" appears to have been established early and thus it may be objected, and perhaps rightly, that the diarist would have referred to it thus rather than as "in Craticula," had he meant this church. But against this may be urged that the phrase "in Craticula" used in connection with St. Lawrence is surely of very general significance, and need be little more, in fact, than a statement of his martyrdom. In Sigeric's day S. Lorenzo in Lucina was important; it lies, moreover, more or less directly on what we shall see is the route of the first day's tour. On S. Lorenzo in Lucina see Nichols 151, TM 257–259, Armellini 291–293, Hülsen 288 § 18.

The alternative is S. Lorenzo in Piscibus, virtually across the street from S. Spirito (2) in the direction of St. Peter's (Baed. I, 9; Hülsen Map II, Mh). But Hülsen (p. 294 § 28) records this church first in 1143 and as "*S. Laurentii in porticu maiore*"; "*in Piscibus*" is a later cognomen, derived either from a fish-market in the Portico of St. Peter (see p. 286 § 18 below) or from a gentile name. S. Lorenzo in Piscibus may well be older than the 1143 date and may be the church intended here, but S. Lorenzo in Lucina seems to have a considerably stronger claim.

ad Sanctum Valentinum in Ponte Molvi⟨o⟩ (4), S. Valentino a Ponte Milvio or Molle, via Flaminia near the Milvian bridge (beyond Baed. I, 13; beyond Hülsen Ai). Founded by Julius I (337–352), enriched by Adrian I (772–795) Leo III (795–816) and Gregory IV (827–844), this church belonged in the tenth century to the monastery of S. Silvestro in Capite (Baed. I, 18; Hülsen El). Gradually neglected, the church seems to have fallen into disuse and decay after the thirteenth century; only excavated ruins now remain; it is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 39: *iuxta via Flamineam*), Einsiedeln (No. 63) and Leo III (No. 27: *foris murum*). On the history and etymology

of the bridge-name Milvio, Molle etc. see Tomassetti VI, 207 and n. 1 and 209 (tenth century references). TM 530–533, Armellini 843–847, Hülsen 496–497 § 2.

ad Sanctum Agnes (5). Although there are three early churches dedicated to St. Agnes, this can only be S. Agnese fuori, famous and popular Constantine foundation on the via Nomentana (beyond Baed. I, 31; beyond Hülsen Au). S. Agnese fuori appears in the lists of Salzburg (No. 35), Einsiedeln (No. 5) and Leo III (No. 111). It may be noted in passing that S. Agnese in Agone is also found in the Einsiedeln list (No. 4) and S. Agnese ad duo Furna in the list of Leo III (No. 94), but neither of these lies at all on the general route indicated. The grammar of this entry is bad: the wrong gender: *scm̄* for *sc̃am* as in (11) below, while for *Agnes* one probably wants *Agnetem*, though it must be admitted that the inflection of this saint's name fluctuates (see DAchL under "Agnès" col. 905–906). TM 151–157, Armellini 857–860, Hülsen 170 § 16.

ad Sanctum Laurentium foris murum (6), S. Lorenzo fuori, via Tiburtina (beyond Baed. I, 36; Hülsen Fy). At this date the church comprised two basilicas, one founded by Constantine, the other called *basilica maior*: they were not united until the thirteenth century, though here as in the lists of Einsiedeln (No. 35) and of Leo III (No. 24) no distinction is made between the two. TM 142–148, Armellini 865–873, Hülsen 285–286 § 13.

ad Sanctum Sebastianum (7), S. Sebastiano *ad Catacumbas*, outside the Porta S. Sebastiano (Porta Appia) (beyond Baed. III, 30; beyond Hülsen Ss) on the old Via Appia. Its origin goes back to Damasus (366–384): it was restored by Adrian I (772–795), enriched by Leo III (795–816) and is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 32: *iuxta viam Appiam*) and Einsiedeln (No. 55). See also pp. 284–285 § 14 below. TM 135–137, Armellini 896–909, Hülsen 460 § 48.

ad Sanctum Anastasium (8). There are six early churches dedicated to St. Anastasius (Hülsen 173–176) but this can be no other than the very old and important SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio near the Tre Fontane on the Via Ostiense (beyond Baed. III, 18; beyond Hülsen Sl). This church is included in the Salzburg list (No. 31: *ad Aquam Salviam*) and probably in Leo III (No. 66). TM (p. 124) identify this church with that visited by Sigeric (Siric). TM 123–124, Armellini 940–942, Hülsen 173 § 21.

ad Sanctum Paulum (9) can only be the great S. Paolo fuori, via Ostiense outside the Porta S. Paolo (beyond Baed. III, 18; beyond Hülsen Sl). First built in the third century and frequently added to and restored, it had been sacked by the Saracens in the ninth century. It is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 29), Einsiedeln (No. 49) and presumably in Leo III (No. 14). For further details see *Páls kirkia*, p. 284 below. TM 112–119, Armellini 928–934, Hülsen 415–416 § 11.

ad Sanctum Bonefatium (10), SS. Alessio e Bonifazio, via S. Sabina (Baed. III, 16; Hülsen Ok). This old foundation is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 21) and of Leo III (No. 51); in 977 Benedict VII ceded it to the Greek metropolitan Sergius. In Sigeric's day it was occupied by Basilian monks. TM 173–174, Armellini 585–587, Hülsen 171–172 § 18.

ad Sanctum Savinam (11), S. Sabina, via di S. Sabina (Baed. III, 16; Hülsen Ok). Founded under Celestine I (422–432) and restored by Leo III (795–816) and Eugenius II (824) it is included only in the list of Leo III (No. 29). On *Sanctum* for *Sanctam* cf. (5) above. TM 334–337, Armellini 581–585, Hülsen 430–431 § 2.

ad Sanctam Mariam, Scolam Grecam (12), S. Maria in Cosmedin (i.e. κοσμητήν), piazza Bocca della Verità (Baed. II, 16; Hülsen MI). This celebrated titular church, founded as early as the sixth century and rebuilt by Adrian I (771–795), is included in the list of Leo III (No. 6: *diaconia Dei genetricis quae appellatur Cosmidi*). TM 273–277, DAchL under "Marie in Cosmedin," col. 2079–2084, Armellini 600–605, Hülsen 327–328 § 33.

ad Sanctam Ceciliam (13). Of the seven early churches dedicated to St. Caecilia (Hülsen 224–229) only S. Cecilia in Trastevere, via S. Cecilia (Baed. III, 13; Hülsen Mi) can be meant here, mentioned just before the two transtiberine churches (14) and (15). S. Cecilia in Trastevere is an old foundation, already existing in the fourth century and included in the lists of Einsiedeln (No. 11) and Leo III (No. 47). It was restored by Pascal I (817–824). TM 208–210, Armellini 669–672, Hülsen 229 § 7.

ad Sanctum Crisogonum (14), S. Crisogono in Trastevere, via della Lungaretta and the piazza d'Italia (Baed. II, 13; Hülsen Mh). Dedicated to St. Chrysogonus, this church appears to have been old already in the fifth century; it is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 13), Einsiedeln (No. 12) and Leo III (No. 48). TM 225–226, Armellini 686–687, Hülsen 238 § 18.

ad Sanctam Mariam trans Tyberi (15), S. Maria in Trastevere, piazza S. Maria in Trastevere (Baed. II, 10; Hülsen LMg). Begun, according to tradition, by Calixtus I (217–222) and completed by Julius I (337–352), this church is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 6: *transtiberis*) and Einsiedeln (No. 44). Ms. *tyberi* may be due to a scribal oversight of the *m*-abbreviation as in *retunda* (17), or we may have to do with plain bad grammar on the part of author or scribe; in this connection it may be observed that the scribe commits (or inherits?) the identical error in the list of popes (ed. Stubbs, op.cit., p. 391) that immediately precedes the diary on fol. 22^{r} (ll. 3–4). Apropos of Pope John XI (931–935) we read: *Iohannes tituli Sancte Marie trans Tyberi sedit. . . .* TM 291–295, DAchL under "Marie-du-Transtévère" col. 2068–2075, Armellini 637–648, Hülsen 371 § 91.

ad Sanctum Pancratium (16), S. Pancrazio, via Aurelia outside the Porta S. Pancrazio (Baed. III, 4; Hülsen Nab) and near the Villa Pamphili. Founded by Symmachus (438–514) and restored by Honorius I (625–638), it is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 28), Einsiedeln (No. 48) and Leo III (No. 26: *foris murum*). The oratory of S. Pancrazio in Laterano (Armellini 106, Hülsen 409–410 § 2) cannot be meant here. TM 310–311, Armellini 951–955, Hülsen 409 § 1.

Here the tour of the first day ends and the visitors return home (*in domum*), presumably to (2). The next morning (*mane*) they set out again, this time into the heart of the city.

ad Sanctam Mariam Retunda (17), S. Maria Rotonda, often known as the Pantheon, piazza della Rotonda (Baed. II, 18; Hülsen Gi). This famous Roman temple was consecrated a Christian church by Boniface IV in 609 and is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 5: *rotunda*), Einsiedeln (No. 53: *Rotunda*) and Leo III (No. 5: *ad Martyres*). Hook misreads "*Secunda.*" The bad spelling (*re-* for *ro-*) and bad grammar (*-a* for *-am*) is presumably scribal. TM 311–312, DAchL under "Panthéon" col. 1063–1067 and "Marie-ad-Martyres" col. 2062–2068, Armellini 483–485, Hülsen 363 § 82.

ad Sanctos Apostolos (18), SS. Apostoli, piazza di Santi Apostoli (Baed. II, 21; Hülsen Gm). Founded by Julius I (337–352) and originally dedicated to the apostles Jacob and Philip (so Salzburg No. 7), the church was rebuilt under Pelagius I (555–560) and again under Stephen IV (885–891); nothing remains of the old basilica which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1349. We seem to have here the church under its later title, otherwise so first (?) designated by Cencio (No. 6). TM 184–187, Armellini 249–252, Hülsen 201–202 § 70.

ad Sanctus Iohannes in Laterane (19), St. John Lateran (S. Giovanni in Laterano), piazza S. Giovanni near the Porta S. Giovanni (Baed. III, 28; Hülsen Nt). For the bad grammar cf. (5) above; *-e* for *-o* is no doubt scribal as in (17) above. TM 88–93, DAchL under "Latran," Armellini 91–99, Hülsen 272 § 21.

Now comes the luncheon interval (*refecimus*) with Pope John XV in the Lateran Palace (note the bad grammar in the text). Afterwards on to

ad Ierusalem (20), S. Croce in Gerusalemme, piazza S. Croce (Baed. II, 34; Hülsen Mx). A Constantine foundation often, as here, designated by the bare cognomen "Jerusalem" (so Einsiedeln No. 25 and Leo III No. 23) vs. such fuller titles as "*ecclesia S. Crucis in Hierusalem.*" TM 139–142, Armellini 795–800, Hülsen 243 § 29.

ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem (21), S. Maria Maggiore, piazza dell'Esquilino (Baed. II, 27; Hülsen Hr). Founded by Liberius (352–356) and restored by Sixtus III (432–440), it is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 2: *Maria maior*), Einsiedeln (No. 42: *Mariae maioris*) and Leo III (No. 2: *ad Praesepem*) TM esp. 126–128, DAchL under "Marie-Majeure" col. 2091–2119, Armellini 226–235, Hülsen 342 § 55.

ad Sanctum Petrum ad Vincula (22), S. Pietro in Vincoli, piazza S. Pietro in Vincoli (Baed. II, 23; Hülsen IKp). Already existing in the fifth century it was reconstructed by Sixtus III (432–440) and is included in the lists of Salzburg (No. 11: *vincula Petri*), Einsiedeln (No. 50: *ad vincula*) and Leo III (No. 17: *titulus . . . qui appellatur Eodoxiae*). TM 314–317, Armellini 208–210, Hülsen 418–419 § 16.

ad Sanctum Laurentium ubi corpus eius assatus fuit (23), i.e. "(the church of) St. Lawrence, where his body was broiled," the last church visited by the English party on the second day's tour. The obvious St. Lawrence here is S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, via Panisperna (Baed. II, 24; Hülsen Hp), and this

is, I believe, the church meant; for, true or false, an old tradition identified this famous church with the actual martyrdom of the saint (see esp. Armellini 199, also Hülsen 594, note to p. 292, Nichols 147), which the diarist is apparently echoing. The bad grammar (*assatus* for *assatum*) may be the author's; cf. especially (5) and (19) above. On this S. Lorenzo see TM 260–261, Armellini 199–200, Hülsen 292–293 § 25.

Consideration might be given to S. Lorenzo in Miranda, also nearby (Baed. II, 19; Hülsen Kn), but this far less famous church seems to be later than 990; at any rate it is first mentioned in the Mirabilia urbis Romae of the twelfth–thirteenth century (TM 259–260, Armellini 156–157, Hülsen 288–289 § 19).

There is no special ending to this second day's tour and the diary passes at once to the journey back through Italy, Switzerland and France to the Channel.

We may now summarize in a more descriptive and appraising fashion the Englishmen's visit in Rome. The diary begins with the entry of Sigeric's party into the city (*adventus . . . ad Romam*) through the Vatican region by the old basilica of St. Peter's (1), thence to St. Mary's in the *Schola Anglorum* (2) where they presumably put up. No time indication is given, but one may fairly assume that they reached Rome on the afternoon or evening of one day and did not set out on their very extensive visit of churches (3) to (16) until the following, since for this they surely needed a whole day. The first tour was longish (about 25 km. or 16 miles) but it was systematically planned; it offered a considerable view of the city from "outside the wall(s)" (*foris murum, extra muros, fuori*) and was presumably made on horseback. The first church visited (3) is not quite certain but was very likely, as we have seen, S. Lorenzo in Lucina within the city itself. In any event the party then went up the Tiber to the Milvian bridge and S. Valentino (4). From here on all is clear: they skirt the city visiting churches (5) to (9), pass through the Porta Ostiensis (Porta S. Paolo) to visit (10), (11) and (12), then on to the Trastevere region (*trans Tiberim*) over the Ponte Palatino. Churches (13), (14) and (15) lie directly on the route. They then go out of the city through the Porta Aurelia to visit (16) and then return home (*in domum*), back no doubt to (2). The second tour was devoted to the center of the city. Churches (17) and (18) were visited in the morning and the party ends up at St. John Lateran (19) whence they go to partake of re-

freshment (*refecimus*) with the pope — obviously in the Lateran Palace, at that time the papal residence. After this luncheon they visit churches (20), (21) and (22) and end the day at (23) which, like (3) above, is dedicated to St. Lawrence and is not to be identified with absolute certainty: it is probably S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.

Except, then, for the uncertainty that surrounds the identity of the first and last churches visited (3 and 23) we have an ordered account of the activities of two days, in the course of which the names of the churches were more than likely noted down as they were reached. This diary thus offers the modern reader two carefully and really attractively worked out tours for an ecclesiastical visitor in Rome of nearly a thousand years ago.

III. Abbot Nikolás's Rome [15]

Among the many medieval reports and accounts of pilgrimages by Icelanders to Rome and to the Holy Land [16] none is so detailed and hence so full of interest as that by one Nikolás,[17] poet and first abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Munkaþverá (Eyjafirth district: Eyjafjarðar sýsla) in the north of Iceland. This itinerary, or better pilgrim-diary, survives embedded as it were in a sort of geographical miscellany; [18] it has been twice edited [19] and twice translated, by Werlauff into Latin,[20] and by Kålund into Danish [21]; an English translation by the present writer of the stretch from Iceland — via Norway, Denmark, Germany, Alsace, Switzerland and Italy — to Rome may be expected to appear shortly.[22]

[15] See footnote 1 above.

[16] Note, for example, the materials and references in Werlauff 35–36, Riant 80 ff., and Oehlmann III, 257–267 ("Die Romfahrten der Isländer").

[17] See Werlauff 4–5, Kålund, p. XIX, and Finnur Jónsson, Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie, II (2d ed., Copenhagen, 1923), 113–114, 935–936. The earlier identification of Nikolás with Þingey has long since been abandoned.

[18] The text of the diary proper evidently runs in Werlauff from p. 15, l. 3 to p. 32, l. 9; in Kålund from p. 12, l. 16 to p. 23, l. 21; cf. Kålund, p. XIX.

[19] By Werlauff in 1821 with commentary, pp. 34, § 18 ff.; Kålund in 1908 with some commentary, pp. XXI–XXIV and additional commentary in Aarbøger, pp. 61–105.

[20] Ed. cit., pp. 15–32, parallel to the Icelandic text.

[21] In Aarbøger, pp. 54–61.

[22] In an Old-Icelandic anthology in preparation by H. G. Leach.

Nikolás's journey seems to have been made in 1154 [23] and the diary proper ends with the statement that it was taken down at dictation from the abbot himself (*"er ritinn ath fyrirsøgn Nicholás abota,"* Kålund 23, 19). Now since Nikolás became abbot at Munkaþverá in 1155 and died in 1159, this statement, if accurate, must place the work between these latter dates. The data contained in the diary would thus, as Kålund (p. XIX) says, refer roughly speaking to the middle of the twelfth century.[24] The work is preserved in two Copenhagen Mss.: Arnamagnæan Ms. 194, fol. 11–16, written in the west of Iceland in 1387,[25] and Arnamagnæan Ms. 736 II (Kålund's 736*), fol. 1, of ca. 1400; [26] in the passage preserved in both Mss. (Kålund 12, 26–16, 14; see his footnote to 12, 26) various small differences appear. Taking into account the lapse of time and the copies which must lie between the prototext and the two surviving manuscripts, it is not surprising to find occasional misstatements or confused statements which may well not be due to the author. An allusion to St. Olaf's Day (July 29th) that occurs in both Mss. (Kålund 15, 10) must, for example, have been introduced after the canonization of the great Norwegian king in 1164 and thus after Nikolás's death in 1159. The errors of statement that we shall notice in the description of Rome seem, on the other hand, to belong to the prototext.

Unlike the Anglo-Latin diary associated with Archbishop Sigeric's visit to Rome in 990, Nikolás's diary is far from a mere itinerary though its indication of routes (including alternate routes), stopping-places and of the time required to travel from point to point makes it a veritable treasure for students of travel through the Holy Roman Empire during the first Hohenstaufen period (1138–1208).[27] But Nikolás's work possesses much more than a mere itinerary value; for at every turn it is livened by details (mainly, though by no means always, ec-

[23] Kålund, p. XIX.

[24] On the Rome of Frederick Barbarossa see Homo 112–114.

[25] Kålund, p. II. [26] Ibid., p. XXXIII.

[27] Besides Riant and Oehlmann mentioned in fn. 16 above, the diary has been used sporadically but not in a fashion to advance our interpretation of the text. I hope to publish shortly an article "The Pilgrim-Diary of Nikolás of Munkaþverá: the Road to Rome."

clesiastical) concerning the places mentioned: he reports on churches (some long since gone) and bishop's sees, the landscape, dialects, climate and the fair ladies of Siena (?); he regales us with religious anecdotes and even with echoes of Germanic heroic legend (Sigurd and Fafnir, Gunnar, and Theoderic the Great).

Nikolás's account of his sojourn in Rome differs markedly from that of Sigeric's diarist (pp. 271 ff. above). On the one hand it is seldom systematic though at times monuments are grouped or listed in a fashion suggesting the order in which they may have been visited, for example (7)–(11) below. We have, accordingly, in no sense a carefully arranged tour and no intimation of the time spent in Rome. Yet in another sense Nikolás's record of his stay in the Eternal City is far more detailed and more interesting; for he not only mentions churches (with particular emphasis on the five Patriarchal Churches) but cites privileges, lists relics and notes down traditions connected with them. He was also impressed by certain conspicuous secular monuments.

Since Kålund's Icelandic text is essentially accurate, quite clear in meaning and readily accessible, I have not reprinted this but have contented myself with a translation. As in the case of the Anglo-Latin diary I have numbered the items discussed and have also given the pertinent Icelandic phrases or sentences: the latter form the basis of the commentary below (pp. 281 ff.). The translation follows:

It is said that Rome (1, *Róma*) is four miles in length and two in breadth. Five bishop's thrones (2, *.v. byskups stólar*) are there. One is the church of St. John Lateran (3, *Jóns kirkiu Baptiste*), where no one is to sing mass at the high altar who is ordained less than a suffragan bishop: the pope's throne is there, the blood of Christ is there and a garment of Mary and a great quantity of the bones of St. John the Baptist, the prepuce of Christ is there and milk from the breast of Mary, (a great part) of Christ's crown of thorns and of His coat and many other relics preserved in a large gold reliquary. A second bishop's throne is in the church of S. Maria Maggiore (4, *Maríu kirkiu*) where the pope must sing mass on Christmas Day and on Easter. The third (bishop's throne) is in the church of SS. Stephen and Lawrence (i.e. S. Lorenzo fuori; 5, *kirkiu Stephani et Laurenti*): there the pope must sing mass on the octave of Christmas and on the feasts of those same (saints). Two miles east from there is the church of S. Agnese (6, *Agnésar kirkia*), which is the most splendid in the whole city; this (church) St. Constantia, daughter of King

Constantine, had built when she received the Christian faith before him. And she asked leave to have the church of S. Agnese built, and the king on the advice of Pope Sylvester (I) allowed her to build it outside the city. Then from the east it is four miles into the city to that gate that is called Porta Latina (6, *ante Portam Latinam*), where the church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (8, *kirkia Jóhannis Postola*) is. From the church of S. Giovanni it is a short distance to that hall that King Diocletian owned (9, *til hallar þeirar, er átti Deoclecianus konungr*). Then comes the church of S. Maria in Domnica (10, *Mario kirkia*). Then comes the church of the martyrs SS. Giovanni e Paolo (11, *kirkia Iohannis et Pauli Martyrum*): they were court-officers of St. Constantia. Then comes the large and splendid church of All Saints (13, *Allra Heilagra kirkia*) and it is open above (i.e. with an eye in the dome) like the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. To the west outside the city is the church of S. Paolo fuori (13, *Páls kirkia*), where there is a monastery, and round about a suburb (Iohannipolis) that extends out from Rome. There is that place that is called "*Catacumbas*" (14, *staðr sá, er heitir Catacumbas*). All this (mentioned hitherto) lies (on the left bank) beyond the Tiber (15 *Tífr*) which flows through the city and which was formerly called Albula (16 *Albana*).

Crescentius's Citadel (17, *Crescencius kastali*) is the highest in the city on this side (the right bank) of the river — very handsome. Then comes the Bazaar of Peter the Apostle (18, *Kauphús Pétrs Postola*) — very large and long. Then comes the noble church of St. Peter (19, *Pétrs kirkia*), very large and splendid; there is (to be had) full absolution from the perplexities of men the wide world over. And one must enter St. Peter's Church from the east and the altar (is) centrally located in the church; St. Peter's sarcophagus is there under the altar, and he was there in a dark dungeon. St. Peter's Church is four hundred and sixty feet long to the holy altar and two hundred and thirty feet wide. And near where the high altar now is, stood St. Peter's cross when he was tortured (by crucifixion); under it are half the bones of SS. Peter and Paul, apostles of God, and half (the bones) of each of the two are in the church of S. Paolo (13). Under the high altar are concealed twenty five bones of those disciples of Christ who followed Peter into the city of Rome. In St. Peter's Church is the altar of Pope Sylvester (I), where he lies buried. The altar of Gregory is in St. Peter's Church, where he lies buried. Nearby outside to the west (of the east end of the church) is St. Peter's Obelisk (20, *Pétrs Nál*).

Accordingly, truthful men have declared that no one is so wise as to know all the churches in the city of Rome.

North of the Tiber (15) (the right bank) it is called "Rome" and sout (left bank) "Lateran," and the whole together is called the "City of Rome (*Rómaborg*).

In contradistinction to the hitherto totally neglected churche of the English diary the churches and secular monuments o Rome mentioned by Nikolás have received considerable atten tion from both Werlauff and Kålund. Consequently, in th following commentary, arranged much like the preceding (pp

271 ff. above), the problem has been to control and to attempt to rectify in detail rather than to identify and to discuss *ab ovo*.

Róma (1, Kålund 17, 16), Rome. The entry begins with the dimensions of the city; these are given as "4 miles in length and 2 in breadth" and from data available elsewhere (see especially 5–6 and 7–8 below) it would seem that Nikolás's "mile" was about 1 kilometer, perhaps 1, 1 km. I cannot arrive at Kålund's 1, 5 km. (Aarbøger 75). Nevertheless, the ground-plan of Rome neither was nor is an oblong as Nikolás intimates but is roughly a circle with an average diameter of some 4 km., whether one includes the Vatican region as does Kålund, or not. A dimension of 2 km. can indeed only be obtained if one draws a chord more or less arbitrarily across one of the many available arcs of the roughly circular figure involved. One may perhaps ask if the [ii] of the text (Kålund 17, 17) may not be a scribal error for [iiii] or [iv], a reading more or less corresponding to the facts — if not to the notion of the diarist!

v. byskups stólar (2, Kålund 17, 17): by "five bishop's thrones" are clearly meant the five great patriarchal churches of Rome, namely, St. John Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo fuori, S. Paolo fuori and St. Peter's. So Werlauff 44 § 93 and Aarbøger 75. See further NED under "patriarchal" 2; The Catholic Encyclopedia XI (New York, 1911), 553; Panvinio 5–10. Of the five Patriarchal Churches Nikolás only identifies specifically the first three (3, 4 and 5 below); S. Paolo fuori (13) and St. Peter's (19) receive due notice but are not especially designated as are the first three in question.

Jóns kirkiu Baptiste (3, Kålund 17, 17–24), St. John Lateran (S. Giovanni in Laterano), piazza S. Giovanni near the Porta S. Giovanni (Baed. III, 28; Hülsen Nt). This church was originally dedicated to the Saviour but already (A.D. 806) in the list of Leo III (No. 18) *Baptistae* had been substituted for *Salvatoris*, the latter now quite foreign to popular usage.

The statement that mass might be said at the high altar by no officer of rank lower than a suffragan bishop represents a curious error centering on the word *lýðbiskup* (Kålund 17, 19–20), meaning in Old and Modern Icelandic "suffragan (i.e. subordinate) bishop" as does Swedish *lydbiskop*, rendered by Kålund *underbiskop* (Aarbøger 57, 76): Kålund recognized the nature of Nikolás's misstatement. Now in reality it was the privilege of this and of the other Patriarchal Churches that no bishop under the rank of a cardinal bishop might celebrate at the high altar (see Werlauff 45 § 95, Panvinio 245 top for a general statement to this effect, and Severano 589 bottom, quoting Pietro Damiano, on St. John Lateran in particular). Nikolás has either misunderstood the nature of the privilege, or *lýðbiskup* has crept into the text for *yfirbiskup, hǫfuðbiskup* or some like term, to render *cardinalis episcopus*.

St. John Lateran was also famous for its relics; as Severano (p. 575) could say: "E cosa difficile il poter dar compita notitia delle Reliquie . . . perche sono state innumerabili." It is interesting, however, to note that several of the relics listed by Nikolás are mentioned in later accounts; see, for example, the items noted in Werlauff 45 § 95 and in addition in the verses in Hülsen 140 bottom, Severano 575 ff., and especially 586–587, and DAchL under "Latran" col. 1575. By Christ's "coat" (*kyrtli hans*: Kålund 17, 23) is surely meant the "seamless coat" of John xix, 23 (*kyrtillinn var ekki sau-*

maður). The church was likewise rich in reliquaries: see DAchL under "Latran" col. 1630–1650 for a long list. TM especially 88–93, DAchL under "Latran," Armellini 91–99, Hülsen 272 § 21.

Marío kirkiu (4, Kålund 17, 25–26), S. Maria Maggiore, piazza dell'Esquilino (Baed. II, 27; Hülsen Hr). This second patriarchal church can be none other than the greatest and oldest Roman church dedicated to the Virgin. On the papal veneration of this church on the feasts of Christmas and Easter cf. Severano 729–730 and 731 top, and Werlauff 45 § 96. TM especially 126–128, DAchL under "Marie-Majeure" col. 2091–2119, Armellini 226–235, Hülsen 342 § 55.

kirkiu Stephani et Laurenti (5, Kålund 17, 27–18, 2), S. Lorenzo fuori, via Tiburtina (beyond Baed. I, 36; Hülsen Fy). The title of this church, with the inclusion of St. Stephen, is neither historical nor authoritative; it accords however with such later popular tradition as is reflected in Panvinio (6 top and 228 bottom) and Severano (653 top). The sarcophagus of St. Stephen as well as of St. Lawrence is supposedly in the confession; there was, furthermore, in the church an oratory dedicated to SS. Stephen and Cassian (Armellini 865) and nearby a church dedicated to St. Stephen (TM 148, Armellini 871 top). It is apparently such associations of St. Stephen with S. Lorenzo that gave rise to the popular misunderstanding concerning the true title of the church, which in Nikolás's day still consisted of two basilicas, one dedicated to St. Lawrence, the other to the Virgin; the two were united under Pope Honorius III a half a century later.

For the special papal veneration of this church, here defined as an obligation to say mass there on the octave of Christmas and on the feast-days of St. Stephen (December 26th) and of St. Lawrence (August 10th), cf. Severano (658–659) who refers especially to Septuagesima Sunday. On indulgences on these saints' days see Hülsen 141–142. Werlauff 45 § 97, TM 142–148, DAchL under "Laurent" § V col. 1931–1951, Armellini 865–873, Hülsen 285–286 § 13, Panvinio 228–229.

East from (5) it is said to be "two miles" — in a straight line about 2, 5 km. — to

Agnésar kirkia (6, Kålund 18, 2–7), S. Agnese fuori, via Nomentana (beyond Baed. I, 31; Hülsen Au). Although there are three early churches dedicated to St. Agnes, the location indicated and the legend here told of its foundation make plausible only this famous Constantine basilica; on the legend of St. Constance as founder of the church see DAchL under "Constance" col. 2611–2615. Werlauff 45 § 98, TM 151–157, DAchL under "Agnès" § VI col. 958–962, Armellini 857–860, Hülsen 170 § 16.

West from here (Kålund 18, 8: *austan* "from the east") it is said to be "four miles" — actually about 4, 5 km. — to

ante Portam Latinam (7, Kålund 18, 8–9), "before the Porta Latina." This Latin phrase stands oddly enough for the Porta Latina itself (Baed. III, 30; Hülsen Rs); it might better have been applied to (8) below.

kirkia Ióhannis Postola (8, Kålund 18, 9–10), S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, via Latina near the Porta Latina (Baed. III, 30; Hülsen Rs); cf. (7) above. Actually nearer the Porta Latina (7) on the other side of the road is S. Giovanni in Oleo (TM 239, Armellini 521, Hülsen 274 § 24), but this small chapel is apparently later than 1154 and is in any event incomparably less important. Werlauff 45 § 99, TM 239, Armellini 520–521, Hülsen 274 § 26.

From (8) it is, despite the *skamt* "short" of Kålund 18, 10, at least 3, 2 km. to

hallar þeirar, er átti Deoclecianus konungr (9, Kålund 18, 10–11), "that hall (of the Baths) that King Diocletian owned." To place the Thermae of Diocletian, piazza delle Terme (Baed. I, 27; Hülsen Eq) between (8) and (10) is obviously an error for Caracalla (so Aarbøger 76). There can be no reasonable doubt that the great central hall of the Baths of Antoninus Caracalla is meant (Baed. III, 23–24; Hülsen Qp), for this is not quite 700 m., a short way indeed, from (8) and only a little farther from (10). Quite likely Nikolás visited both Thermae and confused their respective locations. Werlauff 45 § 100, Aarbøger 76, EI V (art. "Bagno"), Pl. 178.

Maríu kirkia (10, Kålund 18, 11). This may, theoretically at least, have been one of two churches. Nearest (about 300 m.) to (9) would be S. Maria in Tempore, no longer extant (Armellini 518–520, Hülsen 367–368 § 88), but this seems at all times to have been far less important than S. Maria in Domnica (popular cognomen: Navicella), piazza della Navicella (Baed. III, 25; Hülsen Oq), a very ancient basilica. S. Maria in Domnica is almost surely the church meant here, located more or less between (8) and (10). So Kålund Register and Aarbøger 76; Werlauff 45 § 101 failed to identify the church. TM 278–280, DAchL under "Marie in Domnica" col. 2084–2091, Armellini 501–503, Hülsen 331–332 § 40.

Some 500 m. farther on comes

kirkia Iohannis et Pauli Martirum (11, Kålund 18, 11–13), SS. Giovanni e Paolo, via SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Baed. III, 22; Hülsen Np). For the legend of John and Paul, the holy martyrs, see DAchL under "Celius" col. 2832–2836. Werlauff 45 § 102, TM 239–244, Armellini 506–513, Hülsen 277 § 30.

Allra Heilagra kirkia (12, Kålund 18, 13–15), S. Maria Rotonda (Pantheon), piazza della Rotonda (Baed. II, 18; Hülsen Gi). Nikolás's title "All-hallows'" or "All Saints'" (*Omnium Sanctorum*) cannot be right, since there is no church in Rome with this dedication (see the alphabetical indexes in Armellini and Hülsen). Nevertheless, the allusion to the opening ("eye," "oculus," Kålund 18, 14: *opin ofan*) in the dome (see EI XXVI, 212–213, Plates) taken in connection with his comparison with the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem [28] makes the accepted identification with S. Maria rotunda to all intents

[28] This church has, of course, existed in many forms and modifications. Nikolás would have seen and had in mind the reconstruction of 1046–48 with its dome in the form of a truncated cone, producing a so-called eye of about 20 ft. in diameter vs. the larger eye (30 ft. in diameter) of the Pantheon. See Huges Vincent and F.-M. Abel,

and purposes certain. One cannot be sure of the source of Nikolás's mistake in the title of the church, but either of two factors may have contributed to it: (1) the older cognomen "*ad Martyres*," with reference to the bodies of martyrs earlier translated there from the catacombs, a cognomen which after A.D. 1000 was gradually replaced by the architecturally descriptive term "*rotunda*"; (2) the date of the dedication of the church which, traditionally at least, was held to have been on All Saints', a day of special indulgences (Hülsen 151–152). On the matter of the dedication see DAchL under "Marie-ad-Martyres" col. 2066–2067. Werlauff 45–46 § 103, TM 311–312, DAchL under "Marie-ad-Martyres" col. 2062–2068, Armellini 483–485, Hülsen 363 § 82.

To the west beyond the city (Kålund 18, 15: *vestr frá borginni*), that is *extra muros* or *fuori* (*le mura*), is

Páls kirkia (13, Kålund 18, 15–17), S. Paolo fuori, via Ostiense (beyond Baed. III, 18; beyond Hülsen Sl). Nikolás's statement, made under (19) below, to the effect that half the relics (Kålund 18, 30: *hálf bein*) of both St. Peter and St. Paul were buried here (the other half of both in St. Peter's) is incorrect but reflects a tradition current in his day and recorded by Nichols 133, Panvinio (p. 40, also p. 68 bottom: *dimidiata corpora . . . Petri et Pauli* and by Severano (pp. 131 top, 400 to the same effect); Werlauff 46 § 112. On St. Paul's grave in the present basilica see Lietzmann 222. This curious tradition must, one would think, have some confused connection with that of the temporary deposition of the relics of SS. Peter and Paul in S. Sebastiano fuori (see 16 below), probably in the crypt (Lietzmann 145 ff., cf. 168–169). TM 112–119, Armellini 928–934, Hülsen 415–416 § 11.

A large monastery (Kålund 18, 16: *munclífi*) was attached to the basilica (for plan see Lietzmann 316).

Around about the church and monastery there grew up in time a complex of buildings that constituted a sort of Christian suburb (Kålund 18, 16: *borg um útan*) which Pope John VIII had surrounded by a redoubt in 880 as a defense for this exposed site against Saracen raids. This fortified borough was known as *Iohannipolis* or *Castrum s. Pauli* (TM 114, Armellini 930–931, Hülsen 325 § 30).

Catacumbas (14, Kålund 18, 17), "Catacombs," referring to the mausoleum of St. Qurinus behind S. Sebastiano fuori." To the modern reader the term *catacumbas* is vague and might be taken to refer to any one of a large number of discovered and excavated subterranean galleries used by the early Christians for burial purposes. But after the ninth century the Catacombs as we know them today were neglected and as good as forgotten (TM 377, DAchL under "Catacombes" col. 2437–2438). The early formula was '*in loco qui dicitur catacumbas*' in which *catacumbas* probably is descriptive of the sloping, low-lying region behind S. Sebastiano a short distance out on the Via Appia (beyond Baed. III, 30; Hülsen Ss); it became abbreviated to '*in* (*ad*)

Jérusalem II, Pt. i of the text (Paris, 1914), 294, fig. 138 and Melchior de Vogüé, Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte (Paris, 1860), Pl. IX, facing p. 177. I am indebted for these illustrative references to my colleague, Professor K. J. Conant.

catacumbas,' from which a nom. *catacumbae* was constructed (see Paul Styger, Die römischen Katakomben, Berlin, 1933, pp. 177 ff.). TM 54, especially 137, Armellini 896–909, Aarbøger 77, Hülsen 460 § 48, Lietzmann 145 ff., 249–251 (by A. v. Gerkan).

Werlauff's note (p. 46 § 105) to the effect that the catacombs on the Via Ostiense across the road from S. Paolo fuori (13 above) are meant is surely wrong.[29]

Tífr (15, Kålund 18, 18: *þetta er allt fyrir útan Tífr*). All monuments mentioned up to this point in Nikolás's account of Rome are here summed up in the phrase "all this is beyond the Tiber," that is to say on the left bank. The phrase *fyrir útan Tífr* would in a certain formal sense seem to correspond to the familiar *trans Tiberim* or *Trastevere* region on the right bank. Nikolás is, however, clearly not using conventional terminology but is orienting himself and his readers from the point of view of his lodging place in Rome; this would almost certainly be in the Borgo region around the Vatican, in one of the Germanic *scholae* in the vicinity of the Campo santo teutonico, perhaps the specifically German *Schola Francorum*.

Entirely consistent with this orientation Nikolás refers shortly afterwards to the right bank, more specifically the Borgo region, as *fyrir heðan ána* "on this side of the river" (Kålund 18, 20). Aarbøger 77.

Albana (16, Kålund 18, 19). Whatever the somewhat uncertain Ms. reading may be (Aarbøger 77), Nikolás is referring to the old name of the Tiber, *Albula*, familiar to us from Ovid and Virgil (Aen. viii, 332), known perhaps to Nikolás from either of these sources or communicated to him in Rome. Werlauff 46 § 106, Aarbøger 77, and on the history of the name, Pauly-Wissowa rev. ed., 11. Halbb. col. 793–794 under "Tiberis."

Nikolás now takes us across the river to the Borgo region and

Crescentius Kastali (17, Kålund 18, 19–21), "Crescentius's Citadel," that is the Castel Sant' Angelo (Roman *Moles Hadriani*) near the via Crescenzio (Baed. I, 12; Hülsen Ef). Nikolás's name for this famous monument which dominates the Borgo region renders *Arx Crescentii* of earlier times (Borgatti 100). Med. Lat. *Arx Crescentii*, like Icelandic *Crescentius Kastali*, has obvious reference to the use of Hadrian's mausoleum as a stronghold or citadel by Crescentius II (see Homo 87, Borgatti 97–98). Among other designations used for this structure in Nikolás's day were *Castellum s. Angeli* (Engelsburg) and *Templum Adriani* (Borgatti 108). Werlauff 46 § 107, Aarbøger 77–78, Nichols 78–79.

[29] From the late tenth century there are two clear instances in Old English of the use of "catacomb(s)" in the sense described above, that is, with reference to S. Sebastiano fuori: (1) in the Blickling Homilies (ed. R. Morris, EETS, Orig. Ser. 73, London, 1880, p. 193, ll. 11–12): *on þǣre stōwe Catacumbe, þȳ wege þe hāte Appia* "in that place (called) 'Catacombs,' on the road that is called Appia" and (2) in Ælfric's homily on St. Sebastian (ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS, Orig. Ser. 76, London, 1881, p. 146, ll. 464–465): *and hine ferian þanon tō Catacumbas* "and to carry him (St. Sebastian) thence to Catacombs."

Between Castel Sant' Angelo (17) and St. Peter's (19) runs

Kauphús Pétrs Postola (18, Kålund 18, 21–22), "Bazaar of Peter the Apostle," i.e. the Portico of St. Peter (*portica di s. Pietro, portico maggiore*). This famous shopping-arcade or bazaar connected the Castel Sant' Angelo (17) and St. Peter's (19). Werlauff 46 § 108, Aarbøger 78, TM 56, Armellini 730–731.

Pétrs kirkia (19, Kålund 18, 22–26), *Ecclecia Petri* (Kålund 18, 27–19, 4), the Vatican church of St. Peter's, S. Pietro in Vaticano (Baed. I, 6; Hülsen EFab). Of the old basilica only fragments now remain; the remodelling of the old basilica which ultimately led to a complete reconstruction was begun about 1450. Werlauff 46 § 109, TM especially 55–65, Armellini 695 ff., Hülsen 417–418 § 14.

Various facts and traditions are reported. On the extent of the indulgences (*lausn*, Kålund 18, 23) to be obtained here cf. Hülsen 137–139. The entrance or rather entrances were, as Nikolás says, at the east end: for the old ground-plan see TM 59 or Lietzmann Pl. 13 and explanatory text pp. 310–311. These same plans will also in the main explain the statement that the high altar (*altare maggiore*) was in the centre of the church (*í miðri kirkio*, Kålund 18, 25), i.e. centered in the apse, for which the modern language would no doubt use the more technical and precise *altarisskot* and for which Nikolás might have used *altarisstaðr*. The altar stood over the confession (*grotto sacro*) in which was the saint's sarcophagus (see Severano 23, TM 55, Armellini 696 ff., Lietzmann 205–208 and 304 and Pl. 12). That the confession was the site of a dungeon (*myrkvastofu*, Kålund 18, 26) in which Peter was imprisoned before his crucifixion is, despite tradition (see Werlauff 46 § 110), more than unlikely in view of the fact that Peter's grave is on the site of an older pagan cemetery (Lietzmann 206 top); the traditional place of Peter's (and Paul's) confinement was the Mamertine Prison, later the site of S. Pietro in Carcere (Werlauff 46 § 110, TM 313, Armellini 539, Hülsen 421–422 § 19), a long way off (Baed. II, 20).

The dimensions of the church (460 feet × 230 feet), given in Latin (Kålund 18, 27–28), are essentially correct (TM 60: 395′ × 212′), while the statement that the saint's cross stood near the site of the high altar agrees well enough with the tradition that he was crucified in Nero's Circus, roughly speaking the site of St. Peter's (Severano especially 18, TM 48–49). See also (20) below. On the division of the relics of SS. Peter and Paul between St. Peter's and S. Paolo fuori see (13) above. The notice of the twenty-five bones of the disciples who accompanied Peter to Rome is perhaps little more than a vague allusion to the relics of certain apostles and saints in the church (see, for example, Severano especially 29, 131–138). The altar of Pope Sylvester I was in one of the many oratories in the confession (Werlauff 47 § 113, Armellini 726), while the remains of Gregory, presumably Gregory the Great, were in Nikolás's day in the Gregorian Chapel (Capella di s. Gregorio), whither they had been translated by Pope Gregory IV (827–844) (Severano 67, Nichols 125 n. 8, Werlauff 47 § 113).

Pétrs Nál (20, Kålund 19, 4), St. Peter's Obelisk. The reference is to the obelisk brought by Caligula from Heliopolis in Lower Egypt and set up in

Nero's Circus near the Vatican (Med. Lat. often *obeliscus Neronis*). Its position, until moved in 1586 to its present position in the piazza di s. Pietro (Baed. I, 6; Hülsen Fc; Aarbøger 79; Lietzmann 311 *g* and Pl. 13 *g*), was on the south side of the old St. Peter's and just east of the round side-chapel of St. Andrew (TM 59, in plan: "*B*"; Hülsen Fab; Lietzmann 175, also 311 *f* and Pl. 13 *f*). Nikolás's indication "to the west" is, of course, in reference to the east end of St. Peter's, that is, pretty well up toward the west end of the old basilica.[30] Werlauff 47 § 114, Lietzmann 175, EI XXV, Pl. 15 facing p. 100 (centre), Nichols 71 and n. 9.

By virtue of its relative fullness the Icelandic text (pp. 279–280), in contrast to the meagre skeleton of its Anglo-Latin counterpart (p. 271), needs little or no recapitulatory comment or special analysis. The story it tells is forthright and articulate. Thus it will perhaps suffice here to comment briefly on the essential likenesses and differences in the two works. Both documents in their several ways convey or are capable of conveying a good deal of information about ecclesiastical Rome of the late tenth and mid-twelfth centuries respectively, though as was suggested at the outset, these pilgrim-diaries do not compete with the full length guide-books (fn. 2 above). For example, except for Nikolás's few notes on the countless relics preserved in St. John Lateran (p. 281), neither work contains anything much that smacks of the *mirabilia* so dear to the medieval man. Sigeric's companion had eyes only for the basilicas that lay in his path; Nikolás was struck by, or at any rate was ready to take cognizance of, such imposing monuments as the Porta Latina (7), the *Thermae antoninianae* (9), the *Arx Crescentii* (17), the Portico Maggiore (18) and St. Peter's Obelisk (20).

For both pilgrims the sojourn in the Eternal City must architecturally as well as spiritually have been a soul-stirring experience, for the Icelander, however, inevitably greater than for the Englishman. Rome itself and with it the materialization of what Fedor Schneider calls the "*Romgedanke*" would in the nature of things have been almost overwhelming for our Germanic pilgrims. But we must not forget that Sigeric and

[30] On ON *nál* "obelisk" and some other Icelandic words used here see Magoun, "On Six Old-Icelandic Words" to appear in a forthcoming issue of Modern Language Notes.

his companions were used to such relatively old and developed Christian sites as Canterbury, Rochester and London, to mention a conspicuous few in the south-east of England, while every sight that met the Icelander's eyes must have been more strange, if not startling, than is easy for us today to imagine. The Englishman took notes and did not see fit or find it necessary to expand these into a story, the Icelander attempted by facts and figures to suggest to his fellow-countrymen the variety and the grandeur that has ever been Rome's.

IV. Key to Abbreviated Titles cited

Aarbøger: Kr. Kålund, "En islandsk vejviser for Pilgrimme fra 12. Århundrede," Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 3d Ser., III (Copenhagen, 1913), 51–105.

Armellini: Mariano Armellini, Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX, 2d ed., Rome, 1891.

Baed.: Rome and Central Italy, 16th ed., Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1930.

Borgatti: Mariano Borgatti, Castel Sant'Angelo in Roma, Rome, 1931.

DAchL: F. Cabrol et al., ed., Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris, 1903 ff.

EI: Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti, Rome, 1929–37.

Homo: Léon Homo, Rome médiévale 476–1420, Paris, 1934.

Hook: W. F. Hook, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Vol. I, London, 1860, p. 434.

Hülsen: Christian Hülsen, Le Chiese di Roma nel medio evo, Florence, 1927.

Kålund: Kr. Kålund ed., Alfræði íslenzk: islandsk encyklopædisk Litteratur, Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1908.

Lietzmann: Hans Lietzmann, Petrus und Paulus in Rom, 2d ed., Berlin, 1927.

Miller: Konrad Miller, Mappaemundi, die ältesten Weltkarten. 3. Heft: Die kleineren Weltkarten, Stuttgart, 1895, pp. 156–57 for text.

Moore: W. J. Moore, The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1937.

Nichols: F. M. Nichols transl., Mirabilia urbis Romae — The Marvels of Rome, London, 1889.

Panvinio: Onofrio Panvinio, De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctioribus basilicis, quas Septem Ecclesias vulgo vocant, liber, Rome, 1570.

Riant: Paul Riant, Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades, Paris, 1865.

Severano: Giovanni Severano, Memorie sacre delle Sette Chiese di Roma e di altri luoghi . . . Rome, 1630.

Stubbs: Wm. Stubbs, Memorials of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (Rolls Series No. 63), London, 1874, pp. 392–95 for text.

TM: M. A. R. Tuker and Hope Malleson, Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome, Vol. I: The Christian Monuments of Rome, London, 1900.

Tomassetti: G. Tomassetti, "Della Campagna Romana nel Medio Evo," continued through several early volumes of Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria. References are to volume and page.

Werlauff: E. C. Werlauff ed., Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Ævi ex Monumentis islandicis, Copenhagen, 1821.

MILTON AND THE BOOK OF ENOCH — AN ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESIS

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In an examination of the influence of the Book of Enoch on certain motifs in Milton's Paradise Lost, Mr. Grant McColley challenges the commonly accepted belief that Bruce was the first to restore to Western Civilization the knowledge of the existence of I Enoch, which had passed out of circulation during the early centuries of Christianity.[1] Mr. McColley's belief that at least the existence of I Enoch was known to certain persons in the mid-seventeenth century and before rests on quotations from three popular travel books of the time: Sandys' Relation of a Journey (1615), Purchas His Pilgrimage (1613), and Peter Heylyn's Cosmography (1652). These authors all agree that the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, had books containing the 'oracles' or 'writings' of the patriarch Enoch.

It cannot be doubted that Mr. McColley's quotations prove two things, that the existence of some sort of Book of Enoch, either true or forged, was known to the early seventeenth century; and that there was a great deal of interest in such material and some speculations about the Book of Enoch. The present article attempts to document these points more extensively than Mr. McColley has done. However, Mr. McColley goes further. He does not attempt to prove anything beyond these two points, but he raises, on the basis of the quotations from the travel books, the question whether Milton may not have found more of I Enoch available than could be got in the fragments preserved in patristic writings and in Syncellus' Chronographia. After noting that he has no proof that I Enoch was 'in any exact sense known to Europe until the return of Bruce,' he goes on to explore some possibilities:

> There exists, it would seem, a distinct possibility that the seventeenth century scholar interested in I Enoch could have known more of this book

[1] The Book of Enoch and Paradise Lost, Harvard Theological Review, XXXI (1938), 21–22.

than was available in the small fragments preserved in the New Testament and patristic writers, or in the larger fragments of Syncellus' Chronographia, published in Paris some years after 1650.[2]

There is a tendency in Milton scholarship to exaggerate the scholarly achievements of the great poet. The fact that he was exceptionally well-read, that he was a master of many languages, that his poetry bears evidence of scholarship beyond that of any other English poet, leads many to conclude that he was virtually omniscient. It is not well to forget that Milton was a practical man of affairs and a poet in addition to being a scholar. Moreover, he was necessarily limited by his blindness for more than twenty years, and specifically at the time of the composition of Paradise Lost. It would then be unfortunate should any construe Mr. McColley as suggesting that Milton possessed information unknown to competent theologians of his day, whose life work it was to know documents, published or in manuscript, bearing in any way on the interpretation of the Scriptures.

In answering the question suggested by Mr. McColley it is, therefore, valuable to consider the writings of theologians during the seventy years before the composition of Paradise Lost. Those who filled hundreds of pages with commentary on the Book of Genesis, which covers much of the same material as I Enoch, presumably knew all there was to be known about I Enoch in Western Europe. What do they know about it? Most of the rest of this article is an analysis of what they say about I Enoch.

One of the popular commentators of the late sixteenth century was Benedictus Pererius, whose Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesin had eight or nine editions, the first dated variously from 1589 to 1592. Pererius refers to I Enoch in considering the 'giants' of Genesis 6: 4. He falls back on the interpretation of Augustine, who held that the giants were perfectly natural beings born of human parents, not of demons or fallen angels.[3] Pererius accurately quotes Augustine to the

[2] The Book of Enoch and Paradise Lost, Harvard Theological Review, XXXI, 22.

[3] De Civitate Dei, XV, 23; ed. J. E. C. Welldon, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1924, II, 175–176.

effect that the opinion which makes the giants the issue of demon fathers and human mothers derives from an apocryphal book of fables, which formerly bore the name of Enoch.[4] Apparently, then, Pererius knew no more about the Book of Enoch than what he had read in Augustine.

Another commentator who wrote about the same time mentions Enoch. This is David Pareus, whom Milton cites on occasion. He shows little more knowledge of Enoch than Pererius. In his comment on Genesis 5:21–24, he notes that Enoch was a prophet and cites the Epistle of Jude in confirmation of his statement. Then he goes on to speculate on how Enoch's prophecy became known to Jude. Whether Jude had it from tradition or from some book of Enoch, he says, is uncertain. It does not appear that he was drawing it from some apocryphal book, as many think, for, if so, Jude would hardly have put it in his epistle. Be that as it may, the Holy Spirit canonizes whatever is repeated in Holy Scripture.[5] Like Pererius' account, this can be satisfactorily explained as derivative from Augustine, who also considers the quotation from I Enoch in Jude and arrives at a conclusion that I Enoch had 'something of divine inspiration.'[6]

Even more informative because at greater length is the treatment in an English commentary a few years later. Andrew

[4] 'Idemque Augustinus sub finem eiusdem capitis, opinionem eorum qui dicebant, gigantes non habuisse homines patres, sed fuisse natos ex Daemonibus, fabulosam appellat, & depromptam ex apocrypho quodam & fabularum referto libro, qui olim ferebatur sub nomine Henoch,' Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesin, Cologne, 1601, p. 399. I know of no proof that Milton used Pererius. I merely quote him as a handy reference concerning the state of knowledge about the Book of Enoch. Of the commentaries I quote below Milton knew Pareus and Rivetus. See Milton and the Renaissance Commentaries on Genesis, Modern Philology, XXXVIII (1940), 263–278. One commentary Milton may have known, Peter Martyr's In Primum Librum Mosis, which contains a reference to Enoch, I have not cited because it seems too early for our purpose (written probably in the 1560's, published 1578).

[5] 'Ex traditione an ex libro aliquo Enoch Iudas vaticinium hoc habuerit, incertum. Ex libro Apocrypho sumptum (ut plerique putant) non videtur: alioqui Iudas vix inseruisset suae Epistolae; utut sit, Spiritus Sanctus id canonisauit eo ipso, quod in sacras Scripturas retulit.' In Genesin Mosis Commentarius in Operum Theologicorum, Venice, 1628, tom. 1, p. 158. The earliest publication of In Genesin of which I know was in 1614, but the commentary seems to have been written about 1599.

[6] 'Scripsisse quidem nonnulla diuine illum, Enoch septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistula canonica Iudas apostolus dicat.' Loc. cit.

Willet's Hexapla in Genesin gives us a rather complete notion of what was thought about I Enoch in the early seventeenth century. Willet's comments are worth quoting *in extenso*:

Whereas S. Iude in his epistle, v. 14. maketh mention of the prophesie of Henoch the seauenth from Adam, which is not found in any other part of the Canonicall scripture, least the aduersarie might hereupon build their traditions and vnwritten verities, I will briefly declare what is to be thought of this prophesie of Henoch.

1. I neither thinke with Tertullian, that there was any such propheticall booke of Henoch, then extant, who coniectureth, that though it perished in the flood, yet it might be restored againe by Noah, thereunto inspired. 2. Neither yet with Hierom, that this book of Henoch was an apocryphal booke, yet some part of it might be true, which the Apostle might alleadge. For it is not like that the Apostle would deriue a testimonie from an hidden and obscure booke of no authoritie in the Church. 3. Neither yet is it like, as *Michael Medina* thinketh, that there was no such booke at all vnder Henochs name: for the fathers, *Origen*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, doe in many places make euident mention, that such a booke there was, but thought it to be forged. 4. And it is as vnlike, that the true booke of Henoch was extant in the Apostles time, which was afterward corrupted with fables, and so reiected of the Church; for then the Church would rather haue purged the true booke from such errors, and preserued the rest pure, as they did discerne the true gospels from the forged, and adulterate.

Our opinion then is, 1. with *Augustine*, that the booke of Henoch, which in his time was produced by heretikes, was altogether forged, and no part of it of Henochs writing: . . . *not that*, saith he, *we refuse the authoritie of such men, as pleased God, but for that they* [the books] *were thought not to be theirs*. 2. We iudge it not vnlike with *Origen*, that there might be such an authenticall booke of Henochs prophesie, out of which *Iude* did take his testimonie, which is now lost, as some other parts of Canonicall scripture are: as the bookes of Gad, Nathan, Iddo, and other prophets, mentioned in the Chronicles. 3. Or, this prophesie of Henoch might be preserued by faithfull tradition in the church of the Iewes, which is approoued by the Apostle. But this is no warrant for other vnwritten traditions, vnless some had the like Apostolike spirit to iudge of them, as Iudas had: and further this prophesie of Henoch, is agreeable to the Scriptures. . . .[7]

It may be objected that the commentary accounts so far quoted are earlier than the travel books cited by Mr. McColley. If so, we can find a later treatment of the authenticity of the Enoch material. Andreas Rivetus, professor of divinity at Leyden from 1620 to 1651, devotes more than a folio page of his Exercitationes in Genesin (first edition, 1633) to the question. Like other commentators, he treats Enoch solely in the

[7] Hexapla in Genesin, Cambridge, 1605, p. 70.

light of what he can learn from the fathers, with little hint that any other knowledge was available.

He begins with the question of the canonicity of the Book or Books of Enoch, a question raised by the citation in Jude. After noting that Augustine handled the question, he goes beyond Augustine in declaring the citation in Jude is no proof of either the existence or the authenticity of any Book of Enoch: 'He [Jude] says that Enoch prophesied, but that he wrote a book or that the book was then extant, Jude does not say.' [8] Rivetus then quotes Origen with evident approval, who could not otherwise explain the trifles of Enoch than by supposing it to be invented by the Jews.[9] With Tertullian, who defended the canonicity of I Enoch, he disagrees. He cites Methodius, Cyprian, Iraneus, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Athenagoras, who apparently all agreed in rejecting the notion that fallen angels begot giants on the daughters of men.

It is evident that Rivetus went to some trouble to inform himself about I Enoch from what sources were available. He has a page reference to the Enoch fragment preserved by Scaliger in the notes to Thesaurus Temporum Eusebii Pamphili, and it is as possible that he had access to the Syncellus Chronographia before its publication as that Milton did.[10] In addition, Rivetus made a study of what other theologians thought of I Enoch. He takes one of them, Serarius, the author of a commentary on Jude, to task for believing that (1) there was a Book of Enoch, (2) it was written by Enoch himself, (3) at first it was canonical, (4) afterwards it was corrupted, and (5) it was made apocryphal, but one should not think that nothing in it was true. Of these propositions Rivetus will accept only one and five. The Book of Enoch, he says, was clearly a forgery, in which with a great deal of fable was mixed some truth, which the authors possibly got from the Prophets,

[8] 'Prophetasse dicit, sed scripsisse librum, aut librum tunc extitisse non dicit.' Exercitatio XLIX, Opera Theologica, Rotterdam, 1651, tom. 1, p. 201.

[9] ' . . . nisi scirem Judaeorum esse mentiri, neque nunc illas nugas definere posse. . . .' Ibid., p. 202.

[10] Rivetus' reference to Scaliger: ' . . . Graece descripsit illustris Scaliger, in notis Eusebianis, pag. 244. . . .' Loc. cit. For an indication of Rivetus' knowledge of Hebrew legend, see below, p. 298.

who in turn got it from some tradition of Enoch himself. Jude apparently got his knowledge of Enoch's prophecy by direct inspiration.[11] Josephus' story of the two tablets on which Enoch, or possibly Seth, wrote the knowledge of liberal arts, history, and mathematics gets short shrift from Rivetus, who argues that if any such things had been done Moses or the Prophets would certainly have reported it.

All in all, then, the commentary treatment of I Enoch shows several things. One is that the existence of a book either actually written by Enoch or falsely ascribed to him was definitely known in the seventeenth century. Another is that there was apparently much interest in the existence and nature of the book, so that theologians felt it necessary to analyze the evidence. Finally, the treatment of Rivetus in particular shows that a very competent scholar of the 1630's, in search of material on the Book of Enoch, could obtain no more than what he could find in the fathers, in Josephus, in Scaliger's note, and possibly in Syncellus. Certainly, if anyone had access to sources of information closed to the layman, even to the semi-professional scholar like Milton, that someone was one who, like Rivetus, was a professional theologian equipped for and trained in theological research. If he knew of no actually extant Book of Enoch, we are fairly sure in saying that the Book was not known as a presently existing thing in his time. We are, then, safe in answering to the question which Mr. McColley raises, 'No, there was no more known of the Book of Enoch than could be found in the fathers and elsewhere.'

This is not to deny that some Europeans may have heard rumors of the Book's existence in some Ethiopian library. But it is probably wisest to take notices like those in Purchas and Sandys somewhat as we take mediaeval accounts of the marvelous Indian plant upon which grows wool. Certainly no one would conclude that Bartholomew Anglicus had even a vague notion of cotton. The travel books prove about the same thing

[11] 'Censeo potius, Henochi nomine scriptum fuisse a quibusdam Judaeis librum, in quo admiscuerunt nonulla bona, quae forte ex traditione de Henochi Prophetis audiverant, prout notum est ad talia fuisse proclives Judaeos, & vera fabulis admiscuisse.' Ibid.

as does Rivetus: that there was a great deal of interest in I Enoch. But beyond that, we shall be, I believe, safe in assuming that Milton had no knowledge of Enoch except what he, like Rivetus and others, could get from the fathers, from contemporary theologians, and from fragments preserved in Syncellus and elsewhere.

There are indications that the quantity of available material eventually derived from I Enoch or from the corpus of legends whence Enoch comes was greater in the seventeenth century than Mr. McColley probably supposes.[12] Several of the points of similarity between I Enoch and Paradise Lost which he and others adduce are hinted at in the commentaries on Genesis. The notion that the fallen angels, 'False titl'd Sons of God,' coupled with the daughters of men to produce a race of giants, a notion which Saurat thought to point to the Syncellus fragment, is common enough in the commentaries.[13] We have already noted Rivetus' allusion to this topic, and almost any other commentary could be cited with equal facility.[14]

Too, one finds in the commentaries the names of some at least of the angels Mr. McColley mentions. Thus, Jerome Zanchius has a chapter on the names of the angels containing twenty-three different names divided into the six who are apparently angels of the presence, the seven who govern the planets, the twelve who rule the signs of the zodiac, the four for the directions, and the four for the elements. The first four of the six angels of the presence (at least so I understand the passage) are the tetrad of Milton: Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel. Raphael, rather than Uriel, appears as the guardian of the Sun, and Michael and Gabriel of Mercury and the Moon, respectively. Ariel appears as a collective name of the spirits of water.[15] Ariel and Azazel appear in Rivetus. Ariel, as

[12] Since completing the work on this note I have seen Mr. McColley's Paradise Lost, Harvard Theological Review, XXXII (1939), 181–239. This magnificent study leaves no doubt that Mr. McColley is thoroughly acquainted with the multitudinous places in which legend material of the sort found in Enoch could be found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[13] Milton, Man and Thinker, New York, Dial, 1925, pp. 257–258.

[14] For instance, Pareus, op. cit., pp. 112 and 161.

[15] De Operibus Dei in Operum Theologicorum, Geneva, 1613, tom. 1, col. 123.

Rivetus reminds us, is mentioned in Scripture, Isaiah 29, where the word seems to mean Jerusalem. Azazel, according to Rivetus, is the collective name for a certain class of demons. The Jewish Cabbalists, he says, explain the sentence passed on the serpent after the fall by saying that Satan was to have power not only over the spirit, but also over the body. Whence they speak of demons and malignant spirits in sepulchres, especially those that are turned into corpses. These spirits they call Azazel.[16] Ramiel and Arioc(h), the other two angels mentioned by Mr. McColley, I have been unable to find in the commentaries.[17]

These are no more than hints; they do not in any way compare with the similarities cited by Mr. McColley. But the availability of these hints and the absence of any proof that I Enoch was known to the seventeenth century scholar in any other form than in fragments and citations indicates that for the present a negative answer is the proper one to the question raised by Mr. McColley. He suggests as a 'working hypothesis' that 'Milton and other interested scholars of the mid-seventeenth century knew more of the Book of Enoch than might be obtained from the often slender fragments of New Testament, patristic, and rabbinical writers, together with the passages preserved by Syncellus.' In place of this hypothesis I suggest another: Though there is no proof that any seventeenth century scholar knew more of the Book of Enoch than that preserved by Syncellus and others, the amount of material from I Enoch and similar legends is probably great enough to serve as adequate source for Paradise Lost. With this as a working hypothesis I feel we shall make great progress in un-

[16] 'Caballici Judaeorum, hoc ita exponunt quod Satan non posthac sit habiturus potestatem in animam, sed in corpus tantum, quod pulvis est. Unde inquiunt, daemones & malignos Spiritus, in sepulchris, maxime ubi sunt cadavera versari, & hujusmodi daemonem *Azazelum* appellant. Addunt etiam mortuorum corpora saepe induere, & in ea transire. . . .' Op. cit., p. 141.

[17] Unless Arioc(h) is somehow connected with the Arioc of Genesis 14: 9, who was King of Ellasar (or Pontus). I strongly suspect that there is some such connection, because of the absence of the conventional -el ending. Two other angels have names ending in -ai, Shemhazai (Semjaza) and Ashmedai (Asmodeus). Satan is, of course, Satanael (Satanel, Satanail). Arioc does not fit in either pattern, -el ending or -ai ending.

ravelling the complicated sources of the legend to which Milton gave imperishable expression in his great epic. Indeed, Mr. McColley, using the latter hypothesis, has, in a subsequent article, made substantial progress in showing Renaissance sources for great blocks of material in Paradise Lost.

ORPHISM OR POPULAR PHILOSOPHY?

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I

THE exploration of the Greek settlements in South Russia has produced a fair number of epitaphs in verse, which for the most part repeat poetic commonplaces:[1] but a find of 1931 from around Kertch, the ancient Panticapaeum, has distinct interest.[2] It is a stele, broken off at the top and bottom: traces suggest that the top was decorated with a relief representing a man and his young attendant; his name and patronymic may have accompanied this relief. The epitaph, preserved entire, in lettering assigned by the editor to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. and by Dr. Sterling Dow to ca. 40–ca. 100 A.D., runs as follows:

οὐ λόγον ἀλλὰ βίον σοφίης ἐτυπώσαο δόξαν,
αὐτοδαὴς ἱερῶν γινόμενος κριμάτων.
εὖδων οὖν, Ἑκαταῖε, μεσόχρονος ἴσθ' ὅτι θᾶσσον
κύκλον ἀνιηρῶν ἐξέφυγες καμάτων.

E. Bikerman, in his careful study of the text,[3] translates thus:

Thou hast won the reputation of wisdom not by words but by the manner of thy life. Thou hast mastered the holy principles without assistance of any man. So sleep quietly, Hekataios, carried off by Fate as a man of middle age. Know that by this untimely death thou hast sooner escaped from the cycle of dire calamities:

and infers that this Hecataeus was a devotee of Orphism.

If accepted, this conclusion would be of considerable importance, in view of the paucity of evidence for anything of the

[1] B. Latyschev, Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae; G. von Kieseritzsky–C. Watzinger, Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland.

[2] J. J. Marti in V. F. Gaidukewich–B. N. Grakoff–S. A. Jebeleff–T. N. Knipovitch–J. J. Marti, Iz istorii Bospora (Publications of the Academy for the History of Material Culture, 104, Leningrad, 1934), 76 ff. fig. 13. I am much indebted to Mr. F. J. Whitfield for his kindness in translating Marti's remarks, as also to Professors Campbell Bonner and J. H. Finley, and Dr. G. M. A. Hanfmann for aid.

[3] Journal of the Warburg Institute 2, 368 ff.

sort at this time. We have no proof whatsoever that any community of professed Orphics existed at the beginning or in the course of the Christian era.[4] Even if the Orphic Hymns were written for an actual group (which I doubt), they lack what we think of as specifically Orphic ideas,[5] e.g. the imprisonment of the soul in the body and the hope of its deliverance; and the name of Orpheus as used in them is simply that of a famous figure of legendary times, credited with song and with the invention and institution of rituals.

Nevertheless, Hecataeus could have been in the Orphic tradition without belonging to an Orphic community. At all times the concrete fact of Orphism was the religious literature: this was the focus of its piety. Any individual who was so disposed and who came in contact with some of this literature or of its offshoots could follow its precepts and even perform Orphic rites — or could conceivably treat the pious reading of the texts as itself the equivalent of a rite: an Orphic counterpart of Philo's 'mysteries of the word,' or of the rebirth in Corpus Hermeticum XIII is not unthinkable. The literature had sufficient prestige for Jews, and it seems for a Stoic,[6] to reedit Orphic texts in the interests of propaganda. Again, an individual who became attached to a Neopythagorean group might thereby be subjected to the religious influences of Orphic literature; Varro quotes the Lyra of Orpheus with reference to the ascent of the soul after death.[7] In whatever way, Orphic texts circulated: a tomb at Eleutherna in Crete, of the second century B.C., contains three pieces of gold foil, like those of the fourth or third century from Petelia in South Italy, each with

[4] A. Boulanger, Bull. Assoc. G. Budé 22, Jan. 1929, 38, says of later Orphic writings 'De l'orphisme religieux ils n'ont gardé que juste ce qu'il faut pour ne pas donner un démenti éclatant à leurs titres.'

[5] As Bikerman remarks p. 369.

Hymn 87 is most instructive — an invocation to Death, as bringing the eternal sleep, and unjust to some: he is prayed to come late. The parallels noted by M. A. Koops, Observationes in Hymnos Orphicos (Diss. Leiden, 1932), 85 ff. and K. Preisendanz, Pauly-Wissowa xix 1765.53 do not involve Orphic asceticism or otherworldliness: Diels-Kranz, Vorsokrat. ed. 5, I 15 on l. 26 notes a parallel between Hymn 13.6 and the 'Guide for the dead,' but the application is different.

[6] R. Harder, Philol. 85, 1930, 243 ff.

[7] Nock, Class. Rev. 41, 1927, 169 ff.: 43, 1929, 60 f.

three lines which probably come from a Guide for the dead, 'which has been claimed as Orphic and which at least belongs to a kindred circle': and lines from the same poem were used for a dead person at Rome in the second century A.D.[8] These were still words of power in what concerned the afterlife.

Again if the 'cycle' is the 'cycle of rebirth,' the idea could have been taken from Plato: as Bikerman remarks, 'Plato affirms that only the soul of the true philosopher can hope to escape from the wheel of eternal generation, and, after philosophy, science and art were believed to be means of salvation.'[9] Plato was always read as literature and Callimachus had his witty epigram (no. 25) on the man who hanged himself after reading the Phaedo; but in later Hellenistic times Platonic thought and Platonic myths of the afterlife began to assume a new importance. A reflection of this in the Crimea is not impossible: culture of a kind was universal, and Dio of Prusa 36.26 represents a citizen of Olbia as saying, after Dio had spoken of the cities of men and the city of the gods, 'We are not versed in this more precise philosophy, but we are lovers of Homer, as you know, and some, not many of us, are lovers of Plato; you see in me one of them. I am constantly at his books to the best of my ability.' In any case, there is one indication of an increased interest in the afterlife. From about the period of the Christian era, the paintings in tombs from South Russia show scenes of the rape of Persephone, and one curious representation of Isis and Sarapis.[10]

There is nothing inherently impossible in the assumption that our epitaph reflects some form of otherworldliness. Yet a reinterpretation of the language may suggest that it implies

[8] O. Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, 105 no. 32b, 107 no. 32d (106 IV does not seem to me at all Orphic): I quote Nilsson's judicious phrase, Harv. Theol. Rev. 28, 1935, 183.

[9] L.c., 371.

[10] M. Rostovtzeff, Antique Decorative Painting in South Russia: with summary by E. H. Minns, J.H.S. xxxv (1915), 143 ff. The general significance of this is its parallelism to the utilization on sarcophagi under the Empire of (individually older) significant art types. Kieseritzky-Watzinger, op. cit., 71 f. pl. xxviii (cf. E. H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, 304), has however a stele probably of the beginning of the second century B.C. with a warrior being crowned by Nike: his wife is represented as a goddess (Aphrodite?).

not this, but something more widespread, popular gnomic wisdom in face of the inevitability of death. First, a point in the third line: ἴσθ' ὅτι, or ἴσθι with a dependent participle or infinitive, or ἴσθι in parenthesis, 'know that . . .' normally introduces a statement which conveys or is supposed to convey to its recipient something novel: it professes to tell him something which he did not know.[11] So, on the face of it, the writer and not Hecataeus would be the man to credit with Orphism or something equivalent: Hecataeus might share his beliefs and presumably their expression would not be objectionable to any surviving relatives or retrospectively to him. This may seem a triviality; but if the reflection which follows is — as will be argued (p. 309) — intended to console Hecataeus for the apparent untimeliness of his death, 'know that' is a more natural phrase.

Secondly κρίματα is not 'principles' but 'judgments' or decisions (e.g. of a court or of a popular assembly).

In Leviticus 18.4, Ezech. 37.24 κρίμα means 'divine decision with the validity of law'; but I cannot find this usage outside Biblical Greek. The instances quoted by Bikerman 372 n. 8 (Sext. Empiric. VII 195: von Arnim, Sto. vet. frag. III fr. 243: Epict. II 15.8, IV 10.13) all mean 'human decision as to conduct, one's own or another's,' and approximate to 'set purpose.' Sextus Empiricus IX 174 says 'moderation (*sophrosyne*) is a condition which in what it chooses and in what it avoids maintains the judgments (*krimata*) of wisdom' — i.e. its choices between right and wrong.[12] κρίμα and δόγμα alike mean 'decision': and in Epictet. IV 11.7 τὰ μοχθηρὰ κρίματα αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς ψυχῆς) are almost identical with IV 11.8 δόγματα πονηρά; the first make uncleanness, the second are it. But we must remember the wide range of meaning of which the word δόγμα is capable. It is often 'philosophic tenet or position' (in Plato Phileb. 41B a tentative proposition, but usually one enunciated as an absolute truth): one Latin equivalent is *decretum*, and in Epictetus (e.g. III 19.23: cf. III 21.19), as in Seneca Ep. 95, there are philosophic δόγματα, *decreta*, which are essential for the good life. Nevertheless, in Epictetus δόγμα is usually 'idea about a thing as held by an individual and coloring or in fact determining his conduct' — and far from always 'idea formed in accordance with a system or taken from an authority.' δόγματα are what mark an individual man as an individual (III 2.12, IV 5.17) and

[11] So in Aesch. Pers. 337.431; Eurip. I. A. 1005; Aristophan. Ach. 325, Nub. 829; Xen. Cyr. 8.3.44, and all examples in Ast's Lexicon Platonicum, and Schenkl's index verborum to Epictetus.

[12] Cf. Iamblich. ap. Stob. III 3.26 p. 202.9 ἔργων τε προσηκόντων κρίσις καὶ κατόρθωσις δι' αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς φρονήσεως) κατευθύνεται. On 'judging,' cf. Epictet. I 18.2, Sallustius 10 p. 20.18, [Aristot.] p. 1250 a 30.

even as a man (IV 5.20), and they are part of our natural equipment (IV 11.33). δόγματα afford a value-judgment, *aestimatio* (Sen. Ep. 95.58, cf. 57): but they also approximate to 'mental habits' or 'set of the will.' [13] In any case I do not know a clear instance of the use of κρίμα to mean 'philosophic or eligious teaching or principle.'

Thirdly, *kyklos* is a word of wide range. It was not confined to the cycle of rebirth. As J. H. Ropes remarked, 'The two characteristics of the wheel which mainly attracted the attention of the ancients were (1) its constant change of position and (2) its circular figure and motion.' [14] The metaphor was applied to the ups and downs of fortune, to the growth and decay of things in the universe, and to the chain of circumstances which follow upon one another of necessity (as in Philo De somniis II 44): 'one thing after another.'[15] There is certainly no inevitable implication of Orphism, or of the special pathos with which it invested the metaphor.

Fourthly, Hecataeus is 'self-taught.' Bikerman comments (p. 373) 'the religion he professed was scriptural and not

[13] Polyaen. ap. Stob. II 15.44 p. 192 ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τῇ σεμνότητι τῶν λόγων καὶ ἡ πεῖρα τῶν ἔργων ἕπηται, τοῦτό τοι χρὴ καλεῖν δόγμα φιλοσόφου: Sen. Ep. 95.44 *infigi debet persuasio ad totam pertinens uitam.* For δόγμα in M. Aurelius, cf. A.-J. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des grecs, 267 n. 3: for its Latin equivalent, J. S. Reid on Cic. Acad. 2.27; for its use in general, the two articles by A. Deneffe, Scholastik 6, 1931 (which require to be supplemented by an analysis of the usage of Plato and Aristotle: Dio Prus. 72.12 has δόγματα of the sayings of the Seven Wise Men as inscribed at Delphi).

[14] On James 3.16, p. 236.

[15] To the material collected by Ropes, op. cit., and G. Kittel, Die Probleme der palästinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum, 159 ff., the following additions may be made. A. H. Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, 27 'Forsooth, the land turns round as does a potter's wheel. The robber is a possessor of riches. ⟨The rich man?⟩ is [become?] a plunderer': Diod. Sic. XVIII 59.6 (of the alternations of human life under divine guidance, as in Plato Politic.; κυκλεῖται πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα); Polyb. VI 9.10 αὕτη πολιτειῶν ἀνακύκλωσις; Hippodam. ap. Stob. IV 34.71 p. 847.6 ff. (cf. probably Corp. Herm. III 4) of cyclical processes in nature; R. Harder, Ocellus Lucanus, 72, 80 ff.; W. Theiler Gnomon II, 1926, 590 ff.; Epict. II 1.18 ἵνα ἡ περίοδος ἀνύηται τοῦ κόσμου; Vettius Valens IX 7 p. 344.2 Kroll (ἡ φύσις) εἰς μακρὸν αἰῶνα κυκλοστρεφουμένη; Tatian 6 p. 6.17 Schwartz of Stoic cycles; Cassius Dio XLIV 29.1 κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν γίγνεται; Porphyr. de regressu p. 40.16 (in J. Bidez, Vie de Porphyre), *falso igitur a quibusdam est Platonicis creditus quasi necessarius orbis ille ab eisdem abeundi et ad eadem reuertendi*: a different sense in Iambl. myst. III 31 p. 177.10; also A. B. Cook, Zeus, II 120 n. 1, A. Delatte, Vie de Pythagore, 177 f., R. Eisler, Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken (Vortr. Bibl. Warburg 1922–3, II), 86 ff., Büchsel in G. Kittel, Theol. Wörterb. z. N.T., I 682 f. and L. Ginzberg in Independence, Convergence and Borrowing (Harvard Tercentenary Publications), 93.

sacramental,' and refers to the *hieroi logoi* of Orphism. Nevertheless, so far as I can see, 'self-taught' meant to a Greek 'not having learned from a teacher or from a book but from instinct' (in Philo, 'from inspiration').[16] Orphism, like a philosophic school, had its succession of early teachers: and its books professed to speak with the voices of Orpheus and Musaeus:[17] 'self-taught' would be no compliment to an Orphic.

I translate. 'You copied the glory of wisdom[18] not in words but in life, having mastered holy judgments with none other to teach you. So Hecataeus, now that you sleep,[19] cut off in middle years, know that you have the more quickly escaped the round of painful[20] labors.' Hecataeus is not an initiate, but a 'modest philosopher,' who by native wit has found the right, nay the consecrated way of making decisions: *curuo dinoscere rectum. hieros*, 'sacred,' like *theios* 'divine,' is often used of philosophical teachings,[21] and *doxa* 'reputation' is a normal concomitant of philosophy, which the ancients (Cynics and

[16] Cf. H. Lewy, Sobria ebrietas, 59 n. 2. Socrates in Plato Phaedr. 275A makes Ammon say that people who gain their information from books without teaching, ἄνευ διδαχῆς will think that they are learned, and (276A) himself speaks of written books as 'incapable of teaching the truth in an adequate way': but the implication is that books were normally thought capable of conveying instruction, and in 230 D–E he implies that the speech of Lysias, about to be read to him, would teach him something. The claim of Katrarios to have learned an accomplishment wholly of himself (W. Kroll-P. Viereck, Hermippus p. vi) may be rhetorical.

[17] Cf. the oft quoted φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι (Kern p. 257 f.). The words of Orpheus correspond to the Didache of the Twelve Apostles: they are quite different from 'listen' as addressed to the man to whom a book is dedicated, e.g. in Empedocles.

[18] Or possibly 'You put the impress of the glory of wisdom not on your words but on your life,' as Professor Campbell Bonner suggests, pointing to the occasional use of the middle for the active in later Greek (cf. L. Radermacher, Neutestamentliche Grammatik, ed. 2, 147: also Philo Spec. leg. IV 140, Preisendanz, P. mag. gr. VII, 562, with ἐν).

[19] To Bikerman's illustrations of this (370 n. 7) add an epitaph from Cyrene published by D. M. Robinson A.J.A. 2nd Ser. 17, 1913, 170 no. 35.8 f. and emended by A. Wilhelm, Jahresh. XVII (1914), 53. It might be argued that 'sleeping' is ill-suited to an Orphic conception of the hereafter: but to press this point would be to ignore the widespread tendency of language about the afterlife to admit inconsistencies.

[20] ἀνιηρῶν: cf. its use in Vettius Valens (Kroll's index s. v., p. 389), a point possibly of interest in view of Bikerman's explanation of μεσόχρονος from the astrological use of μεσοχρόνιος; but cf. n. 35.

[21] So of δόγματα M. Aurel. X 9.1. Cf. A. Delatte, Vie de Porphyre, 180.

certain Stoics apart) did not scruple to prize. The sanctity of philosophy and the possibility of an untaught approach to something very like its fruits are both expressed by Juvenal XIII 19–22, perhaps the closest analogy to our epitaph:

> magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
> uictrix fortunae sapientia; ducimus autem
> hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda uitae
> nec iactare iugum uita didicere magistra.

'Great is wisdom, that overcomes chance, and gives her teaching in holy treatises. Yet we reckon as fortunate [22] those also who in the school of life have learned to bear its discomforts and not to fret beneath its yoke.' Hecataeus has shown this kind of wisdom not with his lips but with his life.

This is not the old antithesis of character and wisdom: [23] a good life without wisdom in some shape or other was now hardly to be conceived. Hecataeus had wisdom; he had learned *krimata*, decisions, how to act. The self-taught man is not here, as in Philo, the man who has received some revelation: [24] he is the man who, without the advantages of philosophic training, has shown an instinctive ability to act as the philosopher should. For philosophers and for their pupils there was at times an antithesis between theory and practice: [25] Epictetus IV 6 is addressed to those who in spite of all that they had learned, were vexed when they were pitied: (§11) 'will you not disregard other persons and become your own pupil and teacher?' [26] Of himself, Hecataeus has attained that after which other men must strive, in accordance with the commonsense tradition of

[22] Possibly with an allusion to Virg. Georg. II 490: but cf. Philo Spec. leg. IV 115 *μακάριοι δ' οἷς ἐξεγένετο*, De somniis I 50, Quod omnis probus liber 96: it was probably a common type of phrase.

[23] Pearson on Sophocl. frag. 101.

[24] But note that the mark of Isaac, as the self-taught man, is an instinctive cheerfulness (Praem. poen. 31–5).

[25] For this contrast on the wider scale cf. Stob. II 15 (p. 185 ff.) passim; James 3.13; Diog. Laert. VII 10 (on Zeno); Muson. ap. Stob. II 31.125 (p. 244); Anth. Pal. VII 470.8 (Meleager); Domitian ap. Plin. ad Trai. 58.6; Inscr. gr. ad r., Rom. III 733.13 *ποιητὴν ἔργων ἰατρικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας*. The wisdom of Agesilaus was seen in all his actions, says Xen. Ages. 6.4.

[26] Diogenes ap. Stob. III 1.55 p. 21 is made to answer the question how a man could become his own teacher by saying 'If he should reproach himself most for the things for which he reproaches others.'

Greek proverbial thought (or such a mild sophistication as Isocr. Panathenaicus 30–2) and the ethical emphasis of much Hellenistic philosophy.

To take a single example, Heron opens his treatise on engines of war with the statement that the greatest and most necessary part of men's concern with philosophy relates to *ataraxia*, calmness, and proceeds to show how his science conduces to this result in a practical way.[27]

The claim that individuals attained the goal of education without going through its processes is made from time to time. It does not imply any slur on the value of teaching — any more than Ben Jonson implies a slur on the study of Greek and Latin when he praises Shakespeare 'though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek.' Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that the first consul, Valerius, had a self-taught philosophy, which he showed on many occasions;[28] Cassius Dio that Trajan, without schooling in the strict sense understood and performed the acts appropriate to it;[29] Philo that the Jews gained from their customs and laws what the disciples of the most approved philosophy drew from it:[30] a fragment of Galen, preserved in Arabic, says of the Christians, *sunt etiam, qui in animis regendis coercendisque et in acerrimis honestatis studio eo progressi sint, ut nihil cedant uere philosophantibus.*[31] We have a decree in honor of a citizen of Olbia, ca. 193–211 A.D., who 'inherited not only their (his ancestors') property but also their excellence and gave added lustre to both: he was not subdued by human necessity but educated by the providence of the gods, he acquired an incomparable natural philosophy (*αὐτοφυῆ φι(λ)οσοφίαν ἀσύνκριτον*).[32] The phrase *οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἀνθρωπίνης δαμασθείς* is puzzling: but it probably means that the man in question did not kick against the pricks;

ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

Many men found their salvation in *sustine et abstine*.[33]

[27] H. Diels-E. Schramm, Abh. Berlin, 1918, ii, 5. [28] Ant. Rom. V 12.3.

[29] LXVIII 7: Dio is probably thinking of eloquence.

[30] Virt. 65. Here the gain is knowledge of the First Cause. Note also the definition of the *φιλόσοφος ψυχή* in a fragment of Philo published by H. Lewy, Sitzungsb. Berlin 1932, 84.

[31] E. Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, 519 n., with Nachträge (ed. 3) 4: K. Kalbfleisch Festschr. f. Gomperz, 96 f.

[32] Latyschev I (ed. 1) 24 = (ed. 2) 42. Dio Prus. XXXVI 8 speaks of a man esteemed at Olbia for his philosophy. Cf. *τὸν ὄντως φιλόσοφον* in an epitaph at Aphrodisias in Caria, published by W. Kubitschek — W. Reichel, Anz. Wien, 1893, 102 (K. Buresch Rh. Mus. XLIX, 1894, 432 argues well that the phrase was added by the man's wife to the terms of praise in the city's decree in his honor); *ἤθει τε φιλοσόφῳ*, IG Vi 563; also *philosophi moribus* in W. Gundel, Neue astrologische Texte (Abl. München, N.F. 12, 1936), 71.13.

[33] Cf. Vett. Val. V 9 p. 220.19. *παιδεία*, 'education,' often had harsh associations like those of 'discipline'; cf. H.-I. Marrou, Archivum latinitatis medii aevi, 9, 1934 21 ff. For bearing ills well, cf. Stob. IV 44 p. 957 ff., III 1, 109 p. 58 (ps.-Archyt.), 10 p. 53 (Eusebius).

Hecataeus, by mother wit, could value things as a wise man should: he should certainly therefore (*οὖν*, emphatic), realize that a relatively early death (*θᾶσσον*) meant a prompter escape from the vexations and worse which longer life would involve. As to these, reflective Greeks from Homer onwards had few illusions: their literature constantly reverts to the hardness of man's lot and to the advantages of an early end, and the Delphic oracle itself was said to have endorsed this view.[34] Further, as early as Homer, the sufferings of others and the inevitability of suffering are used in words of consolation: the speech of Achilles to Priam is our first example of the *παραμυθητικὸς λόγος* or consolation which developed as a literary genre. Thus a writer of the third century of our era, Menander Rhetor, in his directions for the writing of a consolation, suggests, 'After this you will say that if life is a gain, he has enjoyed it sufficiently, and you will tell what you know about him . . . but if it is a misfortune, . . . he has escaped the distresses of life' [35] and emphasis on these distresses was a common feature in the treatises of this kind which are preserved.[36] From about the beginning of the Christian era onwards, we have consolatory decrees passed by various Greek cities, to which the honorific decrees for dead persons at Olbia present analogies.[37]

Of course, then as now, the pathos of early death was felt, and bereaved parents wrote or used epitaphs upbraiding fortune, fate, or the gods.[38] But the philosopher, and philosophy, had the duty of administering consolation: [39] and our inscription gives a regular argument. Like consolatory decrees, it would be read by relatives, friends, and passers-by. But in

[34] H. W. Parke, A History of the Delphic Oracle, 387 f.; Fr. Wehrli, ΑΛΘΕ ΒΙΩΣΑΣ, 30 ff.; Latyschev IV, ed. 1, 136 = I ed. 2, 519 (dating as not earlier than 2nd cent. A.D.) = v. Kieseritzky-Watzinger 55 no. 319 (dating as 1st cent. A.D. (?)) quotes Pytho as saying that the golden race goes first to Hades, which uses the Hesiodic scheme of Ages to convey this meaning: *ἦ ῥα τόδ' ἐσθλὸν ἐτήτυμον ἀνδράσι Πυθώ, χρύσεον ὅττι γένεθλον ἐς Ἄϊδα πρῶτον ὁδεύ[ε]ιν.*

[35] *ἐξέφυγεν τὰ ἀνιαρὰ τοῦ βίου* p. 122 Bursian (Abh. München, 1882).

[36] Cf. K. Buresch, Leipz. Stud. z. class. Phil. IX, 1886, 3 ff.

[37] Latyschev I (ed. 1), 21 (ed. 2), 39, etc.; Dittenberger, Syll. inscr. gr. ed. 3, 796 B n. 6; K. Buresch, Rh. Mus. XLIX (1894) 424 ff. These texts stress the inevitability of death.

[38] Cf. also Epictet. I 27.5.

[39] Cf. Nock, Sallustius, xxix ff.

theory it is addressed to the dead man. His soul must not depart *indignata sub umbras*: he must not fall below the standard which, although untutored, he had maintained in life. So, when Tullia died, Sulpicius wrote to Cicero:

tamen quae in praesentia in mentem mihi uenerunt, decreui breui ad te perscribere, non quo ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan dolore impeditus minus ea perspicias.[40]

There is a closer analogy in the question which Horace asks himself (Epp. II 2.210) *natalis grate numeras?* 'Do you count your birthdays in a grateful spirit — without being distressed by the thought that each one brings you nearer to the end?' Martial describes just such a person as Hecataeus should be when he writes of one Antonius that he 'looks back on the past days and safe years and does not fear the waters of Lethe as it draws nearer' (X 23.3–4):[41] he fears neither dying nor anything that might be supposed to follow.

II

In the first century of our era many philosophers insisted that the business of philosophy was to produce fruits such as these: thus Musonius states that 'philosophy is the cultivation of goodness' (*kalokagathia*, a popular term), and nothing else (p. 19.13 Hense) and that there is no value in any teaching of a philosopher which does not lead to the excellence of the human soul (p. 12.16).

At the same time they insisted that to attain these excellences you must be taught philosophy: to quote Musonius again, 'There is no knowledge about life except philosophy' (p. 10.6): you must prove it to people that pleasure is not a good thing and toil is not a bad thing, for these principles are not obvious (p. 2.9 ff.): there is no right education without philosophy (p. 19.6 cf. p. 34 f.).[42] Philosophy was the *ars uiuendi*,

[40] Cic. Ad famil. IV 5.1: cf. Ad Brut. I 9 (whether genuine or not: G. L. Hendrickson, Am. J. Phil. LX, 1939, 412 n. 8). For consolation addressed to the dead man, cf. Latyschev II 182 i p. 303 (Kertch: Roman period), 5 εἰ δέ σε νοῦσος ἔμα[ρ]ψε, φέρ' ὡς βροτός. ἔστι παρ' ἡμεῖν | τοῖα κατ' ἀν[θρ]ώπους πολλάκις ὀλλυμένους.

[41] Cf. 47.13 *summum nec metuas diem nec optes.*

[42] Cf. Epict. I 11.39 'You must become a student, this creature at which all laugh' II 11 on the necessity of philosophy, and its roots in man's sense of weakness and im-

Shakespeare's 'living art.' [43] Its fruits were desired, not an academic knowledge of its principles; but it was held that you could not attain the fruits without the principles: the Hesiodic superiority of the self-taught man [44] did not correspond to anything which seemed in practice attainable. Philo's praise of the self-taught man is simply a praise of inspiration as vouchsafed in the springtime of the Jewish nation.[45] To his own time he says that the man who has never tasted education is unclean,[46] and emphasizes the absolute necessity of teaching.[47]

Those who had not been taught were despised as laymen, *idiotai*. Many of these repaid the scorn in kind, or basked in the self-satisfied ignorance of Trimalchio (Petron. 71.12), or of the centurion in Persius III 77 ff.[48] Nevertheless there remained the category of the *abnormis sapiens*, to use the phrase applied to Ofellus by Horace (Serm. II 2.3), who had studied philosophy at Athens and who shows a continuing preoccupation with questions of conduct. Such men nourished their shrewdness and goodness on proverbs old and new,[49] on apophthegms of philosophers, on the heroic types of the great philosophers of the past, and on the concept of the ideal philosopher: and they lived in a world which paid considerable homage to moral and cultural qualities [50] and respected what we may call the gospel of Heracles.

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potence in respect to essentials — a noteworthy contrast with Aristotle's view that it had its roots in wonder: Seneca Ep. 95 on the need for philosophic dogma (he allows, § 36 that some people without training in the precise sense, *sine institutione subtili* (like Trajan, n. 29) turn out very well, *dum nudis tantum praeceptis obsecuntur*, but he ascribes this to excellent natural equipment. Yet even these men are deemed to have heard the *praecepta*, and only of the gods will he say *nullam didicere uirtutem*.

[43] J. S. Reid, Philological Quarterly, I, 1922, 226 f. and his note on Cic. Acad. II 23, with the reference to the denial of this art by Sextus Empiricus.

[44] Works and Days, 293.

[45] P. 306, above. For parallels cf. J. Darmsteter, The Zend-Avesta, II 4 n. 5.

[46] Quod omnis probus liber 4.

[47] Spec. leg. IV 115: Fragments p. 70 Harris.

[48] Philo In Flaccum 184 makes Caligula speak of certain exiles as *βίον καρπουμένους φιλόσοφον*; the phrase is contemptuous and probably means just 'enjoying a life of leisure.'

[49] Like those of Sextus, which are now obscured by Christian rehandling.

[50] Cf. the decrees in honor of athletes discussed by L. Robert, Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler, 231 f., 236: and n. 64.

That gospel may be illustrated by an epitaph from Philadelphia, of about the beginning of the Christian era. The dead man is made to say: 'I was not born the great Pythagoras of Samos, but I was a Pythagoras in wisdom, having the same name, judging toil to be the right object of choice [in life].'[51] He had learned that the symbol of the Υ, for the two ways of virtue and luxury respectively, was associated with the name of Pythagoras, and the accompanying relief perhaps suggests that he knew of supposed rewards and punishments.[52] A simple morality which accords with this inscription is found in various texts in Stobaeus which bear the names of Pythagoreans:[53] and this latterday Pythagoras may have become acquainted with some such teaching; but I doubt it.

(In any case, we must not think of Neopythagoreanism as a single entity or as the product of a school, like the Stoa, with a definite series of heads. There was an aggregate of habits and writings associated with the *name* of Pythagoras and with the names of early Pythagoreans, historical or fictitious — there were also writings — far fewer in number —[54] bearing the names of contemporary Pythagoreans. Writings composed from early Hellenistic times onwards under the early names, and descriptions of what was the teaching of Pythagoras could contain much or little that was early and genuine. Pythagoras was wise, and any wisdom could be ascribed to him and to his followers — just as to Hermes Trismegistus (Cf. uita Pythag. Phot. Bibl. 249 p. 438 b 19 ff., on the diverse interests ascribed to the disciples of Pythagoras). It ranged from the esoteric piety of Nigidius Figulus and of what were in reality religious groups to the commonsense morality of many sayings and excerpts in Stobaeus which have no trace of otherwor

[51] J. Keil-A. von Premerstein, Denkschriften Wien LIII, ii, 34 f.: A. Brinkmann Rh. Mus. 66, 1911, 616 ff. For the choice of toil, cf. also W. Peek, Der Isishymnus von Andros u. verwandte Texte, 129 l.9, where Isis is made to say εἱλόμην πόνον.

[52] Cf. Brinkmann l. c. and A.-J. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des grecs, 80 n. 9. As far as the Υ alone is concerned, Persius, in spite of III 56, was a Stoic.

[53] Full quotations in Brinkmann. I suspect that Pythagoras is here little more than a name, as in Cebes 2.2, Hor. Serm. II 4.3, Martial 9, 47.3: compare the sages on mosaics (e.g. Nock, Sallustius, xxii n. 33) and sarcophagi (H.-I. Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ, 217, 220 f.).

[54] E. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen, III, ed. 4, ii, 124; on Sextus cf. III i 70 n. 4, and J. Kroll in E. Hennecke, Neut. Apokryphen, ed. 2, 628: for early Pythagorean gnomic utterances, cf. H. Diels in Dittenberger, Syll. inscr. gr. 1268 (vol. 3, 392). On the way in which Peripatetic material found quasi-Pythagorean expression, cf. W. Theiler, Gnomon 1, 1925, 146 ff.: 2, 1926, 147 ff., 587 ff. Were the Pythagorean ascription and Doric dialect of the treatises on kingship discussed by E. R. Goodenough, Yale Classical Studies 1, 1928, 55 ff., chosen in order that the treatises might not be taken as criticisms of contemporary actuality?

liness and no complete rejection of the corporeal as such. It was a matter of ascription, though that ascription was much more justified on some occasions than on others, and ascription could build on ascription.)

Another illustration of the popular currency of philosophic names and of the claim to follow them, is afforded by the epitaph at Miletus on a man who says that he had lived after the wise opinions of Socrates and Plato and not after the hedonistic and godless ones of Epicurus.[55] There is abundant evidence that the great philosophers were names with which to conjure. Nor must we forget the many longer or shorter moral sentiments on tombstones and gems.[56]

One of the last, found in Egypt, deserves attention

Ἷς θεὸς λέγι.
ὃς ἀγαθῇ ψυχῇ σκηνὴν θυμ[ἐ]λης ἐπάτησε,
τ[ο]ύτῳ κὲ Νέμεσι[s] κὲ Χάριτες συνέποντε.
ἰ δέ τις ὢν ἀμαθὴς ψυχὴν ἔσχε περίεργον,
τοῦτον ἀπηρνήσαντο θεοὶ
κὲ Παφίης σύνοδος.
Τοίνυν, ἑτῆρε, τῶν τρόπω[ν] γίνου φίλ[ο]s.

'One god says. He who has set his feet[57] on the boards of life's stage with a good disposition is accompanied by Nemesis and the Graces. But the man who is stupid and has a bothersome disposition is rejected by the gods and by the gild of the Paphian one. So, comrade, become a friend of (good) habits.' The translation is not certain at the end: Peterson's citation of Artemidorus II 37, p. 141.29 ff. Hercher Νέμεσις ἀεὶ τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ζῶσιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ μετρίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ φιλοσόφοις· τοῖς δὲ παρανομοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις τισὶ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλων ὀρεγομένοις πραγμάτων ἐναντία καθίσταται καὶ ἐμπόδιος τῶν ἐπιχειρουμένων in support of τρόπων[58] seems to me decisive against τροπῶν which he prefers, and indicates the probable nature of the lines. They are gnomic reflection; ἑταῖρε 'comrade,' suggests the style of old skolia.[59] The form is that of an oracle: various men making solemn

[55] O. Rayet, Rev. arch. N. S. XXVIII, 1874, 113 f. (Cougny, Anth. gr. III app. ii 242 p. 128.)

[56] Nock, Sallustius, xxxii ff. and Cl. Rev. 41, 1927, 191 f. Add A. Deissmann, Licht vom Osten, ed. 4, 251 (Coan epitaph); Carm. lat. epigr. 1870, with E. Diehl's comments in Gnomon 4, 1928, 119; W. H. Buckler-W. M. Calder-C. W. M. Cox, Journ. Rom. Stud. 16, 1926, 61 ff.; earlier nonsepulchral instances on Thera, IG XII 3, supp. 1334, 1656: a late text, Brit. Sch. Ath. 12 (1905–06), 476.

[57] W. Fröhner, Rh. Mus. 47, 1892, 307: E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, 257 ff.

[58] Cf. κατὰ τρόπον, ἀπὸ τρόπου.

[59] Cf. E. Diehl, Anthologia lyrica, ed. 1, II 185 no. 14. Ἀδμήτου λόγον, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει; frag. ap. Text. Empir. XI 122 κέρδαιν' ἑταῖρε καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος (with A.D. Knox in Loeb Theophrastus–Herodes, p. 230).

pronouncements approximated or were said to approximate to that,[60] and oracular shrines uttered (or were supposed to utter) gnomic statements.[61] The phrase *εἷς θεός*, known from many acclamations under the Empire, professes to give additional solemnity and may be regarded as an ingenious literary device to secure an effect of novelty. But we need not look for any specific religious meaning or context.[62] Nemesis is concerned with the righteousness or right measure of actions, Aphrodite with charm and acceptability in all senses, as also with luck at dice. The man her gild [63] rejects is *ἀν(επ)αφρόδιτος, inuenustus*. That is, I think, all.

The men who prized such gems, and chose such epitaphs, the author of the epitaph on Hecataeus, and presumably Hecataeus himself, represent the public to which was addressed the Picture of Cebes, an elementary moral allegory of deliverance by concentration on morality to the exclusion of unnecessary arts and graces,[64] the public from which Hermas came and to which he spoke. *σοφία*, 'wisdom,' was not only sophistication,[65] or technical skill in letters, arts or handicrafts, or the

[60] E.g. Isocr. Paneg. 171, Cato ad M. filium fr. 1 p. 77 Jordan, Philodem. *π. εὐσεβ.* 28 (Gomperz, Herk. Stud., II 148), Cic. Fin. II 20 with J. S. Reid's note for the usage of Epicurus, Philo, Quod omnis probus liber 3, Plut. Cat. min. 35.7; Epictet. II 21.10; Delatte, Vie de Pythagore, 180.

[61] H. W. Parke, A History of the Delphic Oracle, 395 ff.; Dittenberger, Syll. inscr. gr. 1268: for a supposed ethical oracle of Sarapis, Cougny, Anth. III p. 501 no. 187. Cf. also n. 34.

[62] As Peterson, op. cit.

[63] *σύνοδος* perhaps picks up again the metaphor from the stage with which the text opens.

[64] Our epitaph is not to be compared with Latyschev II 86 (on an eighteen-year-old *λόγων φίλος*), IV 110 (= I ed. 2, 482: v. Kieseritzky-Watzinger 7 no. 49: end 1st cent. B.C.) *τὸν σοφὸν ἐν Μούσαις*, v. Kieseritzky-Watzinger 92 no. 523 (man once praised now mourned by Muses: 2nd cent. B.C.) or with the text published by V. Skorpil, Bull. comm. Imp. arch. LIV, 1914 (Petersburg), 71 ff. (first cent. A.D.).

καὶ πινυτὴν, Στρατόνεικε, καὶ ἤθεα κεδνὰ φυλάσσων
ὤλεο, τῷ λυγρῷ πατρὶ λιπὼν δάκρυα.
θεῖε φίλε, προτέροις ἐναρίθμιε, μυριάδ' αἰὼν
πεύσεται ἐκ βίβλων σὴν σοφίην ἐρατήν.

The first two certainly, the third probably, refer to literary culture — the third showing a marked *Epigonengefühl*. They are like the material studied by H.-I. Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. (His reservations, p. 253 f., in reference to the idea that culture conveyed a heroic status, could be stated even more strongly. To call a man *ἥρως* was often no more than a compliment: and the courteous suggestion that accomplishments which brought prestige in this life would bring it afterwards did not necessarily involve any religious belief.)

[65] Cf. Eurip. Bacch. 427, and E. R. Dodds in this volume, p. 176.

inherited knowledge of Magoi [66] and other Oriental priesthoods, or the attribute of certain sages who had the standing of saints, or the quasi-magical thing which certain early Christians at Corinth deemed themselves to possess. 'Wisdom' was also a simple honest commonsense skill such as Horace saw in Ulysses: [67] the proverbial wisdom of the Seven Wise Men [68] and the Delphic precepts.

[66] Bidez-Cumont, Les mages hellénisés, I 93.

[67] Epp. I 2.17 ff.: cf. Serm. I 4, 133 *consilium proprium*, with the lines which follow.

[68] E.g. Bias ap. Stob. III 1.93 p. 36: cf. Pind. Pyth. II 79 f. Cic. fin. II 105 matches a proverb against Epicurean doctrine.

RHETOLOGIA OR ARETALOGIA?

Tatian, adv. Graecos 40 (p. 41, 1–10 Schwartz): *Οὐκοῦν πέφηνε Μωσῆς ἀπό γε τῶν προειρημένων πρεσβύτερος ἡρώων πόλεων δαιμόνων. καὶ χρὴ τῷ πρεσβεύοντι κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν πιστεύειν ἤπερ τοῖς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀρυσαμένοις Ἕλλησιν οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν τὰ ἐκείνου δόγματα. πολλῇ γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφισταὶ κεχρημένοι περιεργίᾳ τὰ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Μωσέα καὶ τῶν ὁμοίως αὐτῷ φιλοσοφούντων ἔγνωσαν παραχαράττειν ἐπειράθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα τι λέγειν ἴδιον νομισθῶσιν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως τὰ ὅσα μὴ συνίεσαν διά τινος ἐπιπλαστοῦ ῥητολογίας παρακαλύπτοντες, ὡς μυθολογίαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραβραβεύσωσιν.*

The argument of this passage follows a line familiar to readers of the apologists: the Hebrew Lawgiver and the prophets belonged to an earlier age than the wise men of Greece, who borrowed Hebrew wisdom and perverted it in one way or another. Leaving one word purposely untranslated, we may render the last sentence, "For their sophists, tampering freely with what they had learned from Moses and those who shared his philosophy, tried to give it a false stamp, first, in order that they might be credited with saying something of their own, and secondly, that they might cloak what they did not understand with some fictitious *ῥητολογία* and unfairly represent the truth as a fable."

Gleaning after such an editor as the late Eduard Schwartz is an unpromising business; but from my first reading of this passage I have found *ῥητολογίας* a stumbling-block, and doubted whether it belongs here, or anywhere else, for that matter. Its manuscript authority is beyond question, since not only the manuscripts of Tatian, but also those of Eusebius, who quotes the passage,[1] agree in the reading. But what is *ῥητολογία*? The word occurs nowhere else, and in attempting to define it, we must rely upon the meaning of its elements, and upon such hints as the context affords. It should mean an account or a discussion of what is spoken (*ῥητός*). In the language of grammarians,[2] *ῥητός* means "in actual usage," or "in good usage," and *ῥητολογία* might perhaps be a discussion of points of usage. In a Christian or a Jewish author it would most naturally mean a discussion of *τὸ ῥητόν*, the letter or text of a sacred writing.[3] For this meaning we may

[1] Praep. Evang. 10, 11, p. 495 a.

[2] Stephanus' Thesaurus cites several examples from the Etymologicum Magnum; p. 94, 40 will serve the purpose.

[3] The meaning "text" occurs also in secular language, as Schol. Odyss. A, 166.

compare Justin, Dial. 135, 3, where, before quoting a biblical passage, he says αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥητῷ προσέχωμεν. Other examples may be found in Leisegang's index to Philo and Stählin's to Clement of Alexandria, still more in Suicerus, Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus. But anything like "textual discussion" is out of place in Tatian's sentence.

English translators have rendered ἐπιπλαστοῦ ῥητολογίας "rhetorical artifice," probably taking ῥητολογία as "composition of sentences," as in the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott. Sophocles defines the word simply as "speech." Maran translates our phrase *disertis quibusdam commentis*, Otto *ficta quadam sermonis compositione*. These versions seem to be influenced by a feeling, quite unwarranted, that ῥητολογία is approximately equivalent to ῥητορολογία, which, however, is not attested, as far as I know, except as a marginal note in a Paris manuscript of Eusebius (see Otto on Tatian 40), where it may be merely an attempt to emend ῥητολογία.

Now since the last clause of the passage quoted means "falsely represent the truth as a fable," and the preceding participial member indicates the means by which this is to be accomplished, τὰ ὅσα μὴ συνίεσαν seems to correspond to τὴν ἀλήθειαν and διά τινος ἐπιπλαστοῦ ῥητολογίας to ὡς μυθολογίαν; and that correspondence suggests that instead of ῥητολογίας we should read ἀρεταλογίας, "a tale of wonders." That this word would be appropriate in such a context will hardly be disputed by anybody who has read the first two sections of Reitzenstein's Hellenistische Wundererzählungen; of course it would be taken in the contemptuous sense illustrated on pp. 11–12 of that work. With this reading, the suggestion is that the Greeks had perverted and debased the accounts of the deeds and sayings of Moses and the prophets by turning them, or matter superficially resembling them, into vulgar wonder-stories. The charge is like that made by Justin (1 Apol. 54, 4–7), that the demons had stolen and perverted the prophecy in Gen. 49, 10 f., connecting it with the birth and the deeds of Dionysus.

If we accept this view of the passage from Tatian, ῥητολογία becomes a mere ghost-word. Assuming ἀρεταλογία to be the original text, its corruption to ῥητολογία is not hard to explain. A polysyllabic word beginning with a short vowel easily loses it in spoken discourse after another vowel or diphthong;[4] hence α may have been lost either because the scribe of the archetype of our manuscripts misunderstood what was dictated to him, or because he transferred to his papyrus not what he saw in his copy, but his mental pronunciation of the text.

[4] Mayser, Gram. d. griech. Pap. I, 143–145.

After that, a corrector would not unnaturally assume that ε had been written for η, a common error,[5] and substitute the η, which would at least make a familiar word-stem. The question whether the resulting compound was legitimate or not might easily be overlooked. The change of α to ο would follow as a matter of course.

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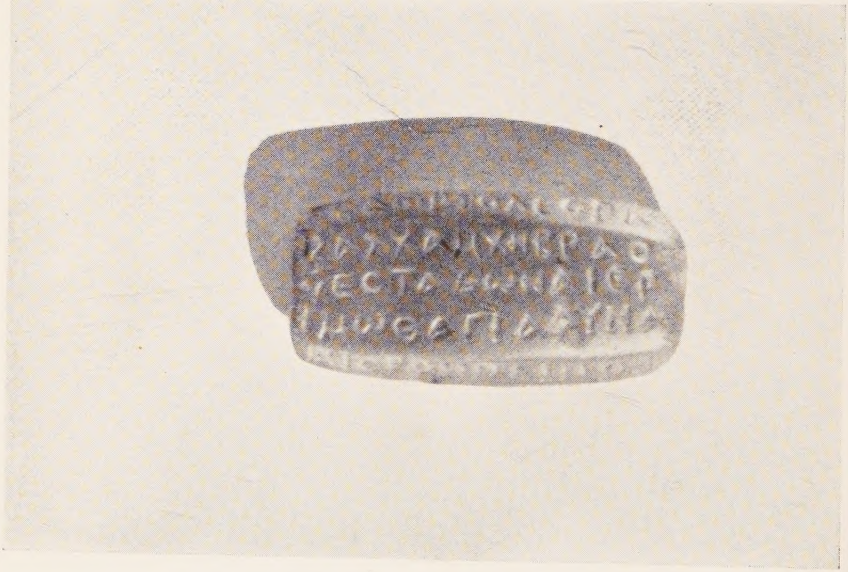
[5] Mayser, I, 64 ff.



A GNOSTIC AMULET

The writer has in his possession a small octagonal amulet of a lavender or greyish stone, which is engraved on six sides and which is stated on reliable authority to have come from Samsun in Pontus, near the ancient town of Amisus. Height, 0.015 m.; length, 0.03 m.; thickness, 0.007 m. Height of Letters, 0.002 m.

CΑΒΑΩΘΟΥΕΔΗΩ	Σαβαώθ, ουεδηω
ΡΜΑΡCΑΒΑΟΥΦΘ	ρμαρ, Σαβαουφθ,
ΟΡΘΟΘΑΥΜΑΘΑΜ	ὄρθο θαῦμα, θαμ
ΟΥΧΡΗΕCΜΕΝΟΧ	ουχρησμενοχ
ΘΑΠΕΡΚΡΗΦΤΑΩ	θαπερκρηφταω
[illegible]ΒΔΩΡΤΟΛΕΟΡΩ	[.]βδωρτολεωρω,
ΒΑΛΧΑΜΧΗΒΡΑΟ	Βαλχάμ, χηβραο
ΥΕCΤΑΔΩΝΑΙΕΡ	υεστ, Ἀδωναί, Ερ
ΙΜΩΘΑΓΙΑΔΥΝΑ	ιμωθ, ἁγία δύνα
ΜΙCΒΟΗΘΕΙΜΟΙ	μις, βοήθει μοι.

The amulet may date from the third century after Christ. The inscription, complete except for one letter, consists of a charm to secure constant help from a divine power. Several of the names are familiar like Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί (or Ἀδωναῖε), and as in a papyrus at Leiden, Βαλχάμ.[1] For a striking similarity of jargon it is interesting to compare the last three names of this Pontic amulet with the last three in a list of *nomina magica* from Egypt on the same papyrus at Leiden:[2]

χηβραουεστ, Ἀδωναί, Εριμωθ
χεβρωουθαστ, Ἀδωναί, Αρμιωθ

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[1] K. Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae, II (Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1931), no. XII, 150–151: ὄνομά σοι· ἡμουαθι, ψρηπνουανερτηρ, διοχασπαρα, Ζαραχω', ὃν καλοῦσι Βαλχάμ. The text, written on the verso of the papyrus, contains magical prescriptions, and it dates from the first half of the fourth century after Christ. Further contributions to the reading and interpretation of it have been made by K. Fr. W. Schmidt, Philologische Wochenschrift, LV (1935), 1174–1179.

[2] PGM, no. XII, 166.